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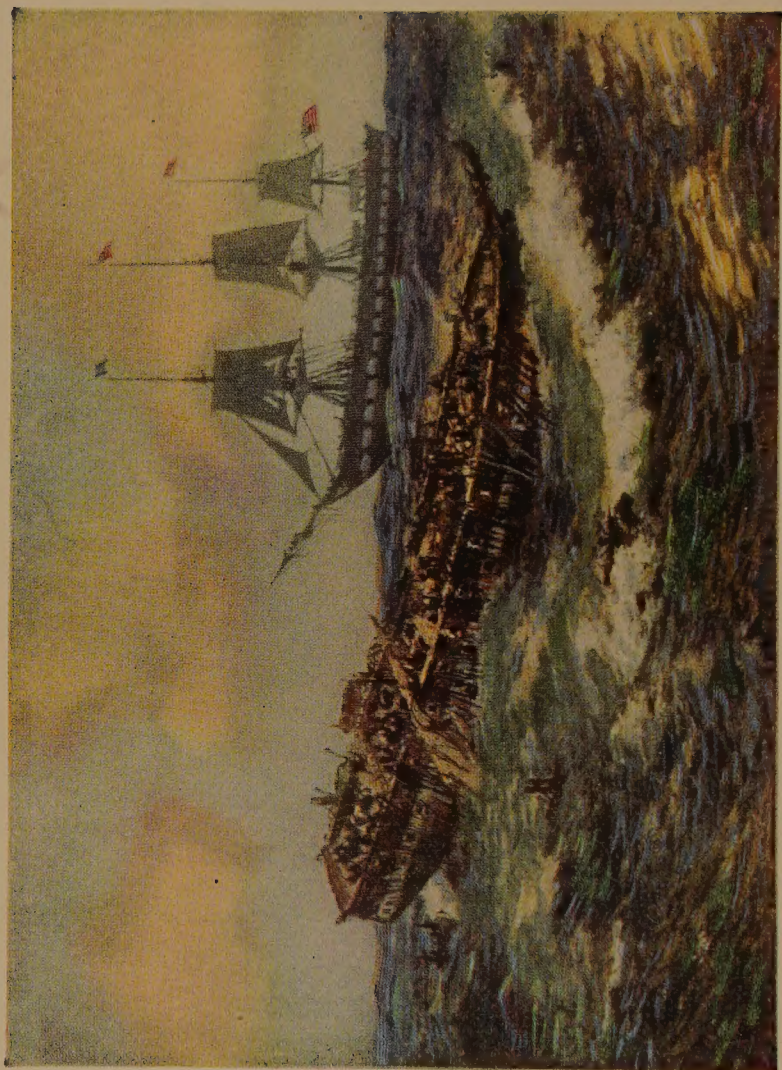
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CONSTITUTION AND GUERRIÈRE
From the painting by Carlton T. Chapman

THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

BY RALPH H. GABRIEL AND
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PREFACE

This outline has been prepared for the use of the person who wishes to become familiar with the story of his country. It is intended to serve as a guide to enable him more clearly to trace the various phases in the development of the American people and to understand the relations of one phase to another. The outline may be used as a whole to study the history of the nation in its entirety or chapters may be selected to acquire a special knowledge, for example, of American foreign affairs. References are in the main to complete chapters so that the student can get the author's full thought. Page references are given in Arabic notation.

The authors are grateful to Mr. Frederick Manning for cooperation in the preparation of the chronology and to Professor Allen Johnson for a critical reading of the manuscript.

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THE YALE COURSE OF HOME STUDY

BASED ON

THE CHRONICLES OF AMERICA

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CHAPTER I

A NEW WORLD

UNKNOWN to the men of mediæval Europe two virgin continents lay on the far side of the world. Norse adventurers had probably touched the northern continent at the beginning of the Eleventh Century, but their voyages did not lead to the spread of European settlement to the New World. In the year 1492 an Italian dreamer sailing in the service of the rising kingdom of Spain discovered America. But Columbus never knew that he had come upon a vast continent whose wide plains and tumbled mountain masses concealed a fabulous wealth which was to belong to

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future settlers from Europe, but which lay practically untouched by a primitive race that had not yet passed beyond the Stone Age.

The American Indian had made some remarkable advances toward civilization. The Iroquois in North America had developed a political organization that extended their power far and wide. The Mayas in Central America had evolved a written language and a calendar of great accuracy. They had erected buildings massive and beautiful, without the aid of beasts of burden or iron implements. It was a surprising achievement; yet the greater wonder is that the American Indians, in the midst of a wealth of natural resources which was to astound the Old World, had not accomplished more. Organized in simple tribes and tiny nations, they were totally unprepared to cope with the aggressive Europeans, throwing off the lethargy of the middle ages. They stumbled upon America while searching for better avenues to the riches of the Orient, but amazed by discovery of a New World, they remained to appropriate for themselves the birth-right of the natives.

Close upon the pioneer voyages of Columbus, other explorers and conquerors penetrated the

wilderness of the Americas for the glory of Spain and the Church, overthrew the empires of Aztecs and Incas, and stamped the Spanish imprint upon the southern half of the hemisphere. While Spanish authority was spreading from Florida and Mexico through Central and South America to the wilds of Patagonia, other European nations did not stand idly by. For imperial France, Cartier laid claim to the region of the Saint Lawrence. Huguenot settlers tried to gain a foothold in Florida. The great Champlain placed the foundations of a New France in Acadia and Quebec. For England, the Venetian Cabot discovered Labrador. British buccaneers, Hawkins and Drake, harried the Spaniard on western seas, and the great Raleigh attempted to create a replica of Elizabethan England in the New World. With the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, the power of the Spaniard to dispute the advances of Englishman and Frenchman was broken. They now faced each other in a prolonged struggle for mastery of North America.

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THE BEGINNINGS OF A NATION

WHILE Champlain and his successors were constructing a royal empire for Louis Quatorze on the Saint Lawrence, Englishmen strove to gain footholds on the Atlantic seaboard. Leaving to gentlemen adventurers the search for a sea-route to the Orient, merchants of London and Plymouth organized commercial enterprises to exploit the resources of the new world. From beginnings that they made grew the colonies that were to become the nucleus of a new nation. The quest of profit guided the establishment of Virginia and the first efforts to settle on the New England coast, but search for a religious haven led Pilgrims and Puritans to New England and Catholics to Maryland.

America, however, was not to prove a place of restful security. The vast silence of its wilderness was shattered by the tumult of strife within

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the colonies. Their increasing spirit of independence roused the mother country to use a firmer hand. The early Virginians lived through the ordeals of starvation and Indian fury to establish their colony upon the economic basis of tobacco raising. Then the liberalism of their leaders ran athwart the path of King James. Their charter was revoked, and Virginia became a royal colony, the first in a succession that marked the growth of an imperial policy. The Puritans of Massachusetts came to America to set up a Bible Commonwealth in which they should live under their own religious tenets and social restrictions. Other persons could conform or go elsewhere in the wilderness. Their system, however, was immediately assailed from within. Some of the people clamored for removal of restrictions that prevented their participation in government; others resisted the control that the Puritan theocracy assumed over their consciences. Out of these dissensions were born the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut. Many other radicals moved northward to settle in New Hampshire and vex the soul of Gorges, Anglican and royalist proprietor. Catholic Maryland was engulfed by a tide of Puritan migration sweeping in from the

other colonies, until in self-defense Catholics were obliged to pass an "Act of Toleration" granting religious freedom to all except those who denied the divinity of Christ. Charles I became alarmed by the continuous migration of his Puritan subjects to America and determined to bring the colonies under closer royal supervision. Archbishop Laud, who had relentlessly pursued non-conformists in England, was to investigate the state of affairs in America; but the outbreak of civil war in England put a stop to the colonial plans of Charles.

Meanwhile the Dutch, emulating their stronger neighbors, had established a New Netherland on Manhattan Island and the Hudson River. Fortunate in possession of the economic center of North America, these sturdy Hollanders were rapidly establishing their own civilization about the mouth of the Hudson when war swept them into the hands of the English.

The Civil War in England, followed by the stormy rule of Cromwell, had left America to itself in all important adolescent years. After the Restoration in 1660, when Charles II resumed direction of colonial affairs, he found a dangerously independent spirit in America. His colonial sub-

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jects evaded his regulations on commerce. They resented his gifts to favorites of the Carolinas, Jerseys, New York, and huge areas in Virginia as feudal domains. They disliked the governors who exercised the royal authority. New Englanders grew angry at the sight of Andros, sent to gather all the colonies from New Jersey to Maine into a Dominion of New England. It might mean greater protection against the French and Indians but it also meant the overturn of cherished Puritan institutions. A sullen watch was kept for the moment when Andros could be sent back to England and the Dominion broken up. The opportunity came in 1688 with the overthrow of James II in England. Already in Virginia, Bacon's rebellion against the rule of the royal governor, Berkeley, had burst into flames, revealing the stark outlines of the approaching American Revolution.

During the Eighteenth Century the American colonies continued on their course of evading the imperial restriction on commerce and harassing the royal governors who attempted to execute the will of the Crown. They were establishing habits of community life and social customs peculiar to their own localities, whether Puritan in New England, Quaker in Pennsylvania, or Cavalier in

Virginia. But they were facing a danger in common with the mother country, the menace of the French in the back country, a danger which held them close, in spite of diverging interests.

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Partly by chance the British Crown in its consent to the establishment of colonies in America allowed three types to grow up. In some cases individuals like William Penn or groups of favorites like the Carolina proprietors were granted large domains over which the grantees exercised feudal control. This was the proprietary province. The communities of Rhode Island and Connecticut, which had developed without original grants from the Crown, sought and secured charters of incorporation which gave the people of the two colonies powers to elect their own governors and direct their own affairs within specified limits. This was the corporate colony. When James I revoked the charter of Virginia and made it into a royal province, he established the third type of colony. Thereafter Virginia was a part of the imperial domain and the governor was appointed directly by the Crown. When the British realized that they had an empire in America and, further, that the colonies were getting out of hand, they turned more and more to the royal type of colony as the best way to govern the empire and hold its component parts close to the mother country. They, accordingly, began the policy of eliminating wherever possible the other two types of colonies.

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CHAPTER III

RIVALS OF THE ENGLISH FOR MASTERY OF THE CONTINENT

ALTHOUGH Spain lost control of the high seas with the defeat of the Armada, Spanish authority still remained dominant in Central and South America, and Spanish settlements in the southern part of North America increased steadily until they extended from Florida around the gulf coast to Mexico and up the Pacific coast far into California. It was not from the Spaniard, however, busily engaged as he was in exploiting an empire in his own way, that the Englishman on the Atlantic coast was to meet strong opposition. Except on the frontier of the Floridas, they nowhere came in contact. It was from the Frenchman to the north and west, who was penetrating the back country in search of furs, fortifying the strategic points, and establishing an inland empire, lightly but firmly held. The New Englander was in con-

tact with the French inhabitant of Quebec and Acadia. The frontiersman of New York, Pennsylvania, or Virginia came frequently upon the French trader at the very back door of his own colony.

Even if there had been no European or Oriental quarrels to set their mother countries upon each other, the colonials would sooner or later have come to blows. The French in Acadia menaced the growing commerce of New England, and the Puritan hated Popish neighbors. The specter of an Indian warrior infuriated by French brandy and religious bigotry was ever in the mind of the English backwoodsman. The French feared the advance of the English pioneer over the mountains into the rich Ohio valley threatening the fur trade upon which his colonial empire was based. These antagonisms were stirred to violence by unending quarrels in Europe. The feud between England and France was fought out in a series of wars, named by the English colonials: King William's War, 1689-1697, Queen Anne's War, 1702-1713, King George's War, 1739-1748, and The French and Indian War, 1754-1763. In all the plan was the same. Englishmen launched successive attacks against Quebec and Montreal and strove to

win and hold Acadia. Frenchmen harassed the frontier with fire and Indian vengeance, countered the English blows, and clung desperately to the Ohio valley. In the end, the English captured Quebec and Montreal and forced the French to deliver up their inland empire. For allying themselves with the French against the English, the Spaniards were given in 1763 Louisiana—all that France had claimed west of the Mississippi south of the great unexplored regions to the northwest. The triumph of England, however, brought with peace a new menace to the British Empire. The colonial inhabitants of the seaboard colonies watched the French peril vanish with mixed emotions. They exulted in victory, for the last war had been in a larger sense their war with the French and the Indians. The French were gone. For the Indians they had only contempt. With a new feeling of security and power, they faced the settlement of their relations with the Imperial British Government.

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CHAPTER IV

THE WINNING OF INDEPENDENCE

VICTORY in 1763 over France in the war for world dominion gave to Great Britain, besides an extended control over India, practically the whole of the North American continent east of the Mississippi river. The British Empire had suddenly more than doubled in area. With title to the land came the duty of administration and protection. The Imperial government was obliged to reorganize the commercial system, to find new revenues, and at the same time to consolidate its conquests. Long since grown accustomed to handle their own affairs rather as they willed, the Americans resented the unexpected attempt to establish more effective imperial regulation of their economic life and control over their political affairs. In successive ministries, Grenville, Rockingham, Townshend, and North all tried to build up a colonial policy that would reconcile the needs of

the empire with the wishes of the colonists. The struggles over this problem precipitated the Revolution.

Out of the bitterness of the first year of bloodshed grew a strong demand for independence. The Declaration of July 4, 1776, proclaimed that the British colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia had broken the ancient ties that bound them to the homeland and had set out for themselves as the United States of America. Seven years of war, however, were required before Great Britain would accept this assertion as a fact.

The contest was manifold in character. It was both a rebellion against imperial control and a feud at home between patriots and loyalists, the tragedy of which was heightened by the frightfulness of Indian raids and the grim retaliation of frontiersmen. Following Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, France came openly to the assistance of the revolutionary states, to get vengeance on the old enemy of the Fleur-de-Lys. Spain and Holland joined France. A conflict that started as an insurrection about Boston became a world war.

Although the French alliance virtually made certain the ultimate outcome, the Revolution was

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greatly aided by the incompetence of Britain's generals. On three occasions, at the battle of Long Island, at Morristown during the critical year of 1776, and at Valley Forge in 1777, General Howe failed to seize his opportunity to destroy the small army of Washington and remove this bulwark of the American cause from the field. The will of Washington and the devotion of the small group about him were in large measure responsible for bringing the American Revolution through the years of discouragement to success. Unable to disperse the American army and to prevent a coalition of European enemies, Great Britain grew tired of a prolonged and expensive war across three thousand miles of sea, acknowledged the independence of her old colonies, and met their terms for peace.

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OCCUPATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

LONG before the Revolution restless individuals moved up the eastern slopes of the Appalachian mountains and penetrated the upland valleys. They had pushed farther and farther away from the seaboard and, as the wilderness had closed about them, had lost all feeling of dependence upon the mother country. The authority of the King was but a shadow; self sufficient backwoodsmen began to forget or ignore His Majesty's government. Many pioneers of English stock moved into this back country but more numerous were immigrants from North Ireland, Scotch in blood and Presbyterian in religion. With them, but maintaining their own identity, came groups of Scotch Highlanders and Germans from the Rhineland whose recent stay in the valleys of Pennsylvania had fastened upon them the name, "Pennsylvania Dutch." Following close upon the path-

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finders and traders these peoples moved courageously into the forest and the mountains to settle in little log cabin communities, chopping away the woods to get farms and fighting savagely with the Indians to hold what they had taken.

In eastern Tennessee the settlers on the Watauga river bound themselves together under simple regulations of government. When Ferguson and his Tories invaded the back country, the men of Watauga caught the spirit of the Revolution that had swept the seaboard since 1775. They hurried through the mountain passes to cut off Ferguson's raiders and destroyed them in the fierce fight at King's Mountain. Thrilled by the thought of independence, these "overhill" people set up a new state of Franklin and sought admission to the Confederation. But North Carolina had claims that could not be overlooked by the Congress of the Confederation and the State of Franklin sank back into dependence upon the older commonwealth. When the uncertain days of the Confederation had passed and the United States of America had taken form under the Constitution, it was included in the new state of Tennessee.

Meanwhile Daniel Boone had led the way into

the "dark and bloody ground" of Kentucky. In that no man's land his successors held on, in spite of the constant ravages of Indian war parties, until their little settlements grew into the new state of Kentucky, the first of those west of the Alleghanies to be admitted to the Union. Far out to the west in Tennessee, James Robertson led a pioneer band to settle on the Cumberland river, the beginning of Nashville. There, as an outpost, these pioneers held their ground against the Indians and in defiance of British intrigues and Spanish alarm.

North of the Ohio river the American pioneer with equal determination was defying the wishes of the mother country to regulate the settlement of the Indian country. British ministers might declare that the region between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi was closed to settlers from the seaboard colonies, but the frontiersman did not abandon his rude cabin and the clearing that he had made in the forest beside some tributary of the Ohio river. The revolt of the seaboard colonies multiplied the hardships of the frontier. More Indian war parties, incited now by British officers in the frontier forts, terrorized the settlements with tomahawk and torch. The frontiersmen

struck back with equal savagery. George Rogers Clark saw the opportunity to break the power of the British in the Northwest, and in the name of Virginia led a band of frontiersmen on an expedition to the Illinois region where he surprised the English garrisons and forced the British to retire upon Detroit.

When the war was over, the victorious colonies found themselves possessed of an empire stretching from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. Already the several states had abandoned their sovereign claims and had avoided all disputes of ownership by giving the whole territory to the Confederation to be held as a national domain. In 1787, the Congress of the Confederation passed the famous Northwest Ordinance which provided for the organization of the region north of the Ohio, and which laid the foundations for the subsequent territorial policy of the United States. There remained the task of pushing back the Indian, of establishing settlements, allotting the lands, and organizing local governments. The story is all too frequently one of sordidness and greed but from first to last it is a tale of daring and relentless determination. The Indian fought doggedly to hold back the flood of whites, but from the start

his cause was lost. Tecumseh in desperation sought to unite all the tribes against the common foe and then turned to an open alliance with the British in Canada. But his people were not ready for such a union. At Tippecanoe and the Thames his hopes perished and in the latter battle the great chieftain gave up his life.

Meanwhile the never ending stream of home-seekers poured down the Ohio and spread out on the rich lands to the south, west, and north. The Indian was swept on, first, into the far northwest and, then, beyond the Mississippi. In this flood of pioneers were Connecticut Yankees, Pennsylvanian farmers, Virginians, and Carolinians. They came in their Conestoga wagons or on Ohio flat boats, the thrifty mingling with the thriftless, those who looked forward to success with those who looked back upon failure, American born and foreign born. Poured into the life of the frontier these clashing types retained some of their original characteristics. But common handicaps and dangers forced them into the same hard mold of backwoods life. They merged into a new figure, the Westerner.

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CHAPTER VI

CREATION AND INTERPRETATION OF A CONSTITUTION

THE Second Continental Congress, summoned to remonstrate with the home government, remained at Philadelphia and became the *de facto* Revolutionary government. But the colonies that had thrown off British rule and established state governments under written constitutions recognized the Continental Congress only as a central agency which under force of necessity assumed authority in a common cause. The states felt that they must have a central government with powers granted by formal consent; so, Articles of Confederation were framed by a committee of Congress and presented in due form to the sovereign states. All of them had ratified the Articles by 1781. Thenceforth the thirteen Revolutionary commonwealths possessed a legal agency for united action, the Congress of the Confederation.

In the dark and uncertain days following the

peace of 1783, the American states came to the realization that the Articles of Confederation were not adequate to the needs of the people. America needed not a confederation of states but a national government. The Congress of the Confederation was able to provide successfully for organization and management of the national domain beyond the mountains, but it was unable to keep the United States from bankruptcy, to settle the arrears of soldiers' pay, to secure adequate funds for the central government, to open foreign markets to American commerce, to prevent serious conflicts over boundaries and tariffs between the states or disorders within states. These quarrels convinced Washington and other leading men that only radical changes and improvements in the central government could keep the American states from drifting into helplessness and mutual hostility, easy prey for any aggressive power. The new nation born of the glorious trials and sufferings of the Revolution might be forever lost.

A conference at Mt. Vernon over the commercial rivalry between Virginia and Maryland was the first step in a movement which ended with the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, from which there was sent to the states for ratification

a new Constitution of the United States. Strong opposition to the new plan appeared. But resistance from local and particularist interests fell before the weight of Washington's name, the incisive logic of Hamilton's pen, and the widespread argument of influential men that what might not be best for special interests of the states would certainly be good for the American people as a whole. The Constitution was ratified. Elections were held promptly and Washington summoned by unanimous voice to be the first President of the United States. Rhode Island and North Carolina alone remained outside when the new government was organized. They soon perceived, however, the dangers of isolation and joined the Union.

Washington's administration was faced with the labor of establishing principles, precedents, and administrative institutions for the new government. To one task, Alexander Hamilton, Washington's Secretary of the Treasury, set himself zealously and by far reaching financial plans laid the foundations of national credit.

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CHAPTER VII

PROTEST AGAINST EUROPEAN DOMINANCE

THE confederated American states had won their political independence from Great Britain, but foreign powers were by no means ready to accord to them a place as equals in the society of nations. The states were still in economic dependence upon Europe, and European governments did not hesitate to restrict American commerce. It was futile for the Confederation to protest or announce retaliatory measures. Europe did not much care, for it was reasonably certain that the American states would not heed the acts of their own Congress and, even if they did, America was of no great consequence. As Secretary of Foreign Affairs for the Confederation, John Jay sought a settlement with Spain of the problems of trade with Spanish ports, navigation of the Mississippi, and the Florida boundary, but his efforts were in vain. John Adams, as ambassador at London,

was met with the sarcastic but significant query as to the whereabouts of the other twelve representatives of the United States. Thomas Jefferson at Paris enjoyed some of the acclaim that had been Franklin's, but the French government listened to few of his importunities.

The task of the first administration was to secure the respect of the powers for the new nation and to maintain peace while internal affairs were being set in order. The French attempted to use the United States to aid in spreading the French Revolution. They had designs upon the American possessions of decadent Spain. But they were thwarted by Washington's cool reception of Genet. Washington no longer considered binding the obligations of the old alliance of 1778 and declared America's neutrality. Spanish intrigues in the Southwest were thwarted and Western thoughts of separation from the Union were stopped short by the negotiations of Pinckney with the Spanish government. The treaty determined the Florida boundary and opened the Mississippi for ocean-bound commerce. Assured of foreign markets for their surplus grain and other products, the men of Kentucky and Tennessee no longer could charge the East with sacrificing their interests.

In the meantime Washington and Hamilton had attacked the problems left from the peace treaty with Great Britain and despatched John Jay to London. He returned with a treaty which provided for settlement of the problems of debts, Loyalists, northwestern posts, and slaves freed by the British armies, but which was ominously silent on the new questions of impressment and the right to search neutral vessels in time of war. Great Britain was willing to permit American shipping to enter the East Indies and compete for the Oriental trade, but was, as yet, unwilling to give Americans those privileges in the British West Indies that they had once enjoyed as colonial subjects of the Crown. At best Jay's treaty was only a truce; but since it assured the continuance of peace with Great Britain the Senate ratified it with a single reservation in spite of widespread popular disapproval.

France was incensed at the American rapprochement with Great Britain and at Washington's recall of Monroe who was a prominent member of the pro-French party in the United States. When the Federalist Pinckney was sent in his place, France refused to receive the new representative. President Adams attempted to save

the situation by a commission of which Pinckney was a member, but the French dallied and asked a "douceur." The details of the humiliating episode, known as the X. Y. Z. affair, were communicated to Adams and were published by him. The result was the informal war with France of 1798-1800. American frigates met and defeated Frenchmen on the high seas; American privateers took their toll of French commerce; and active preparations were begun to put an army in the field. Over the organization of this army a quarrel developed which opened a dangerous rift in the ranks of the Federalist party. It was closed for the time when President Adams, in answer to a French hint, sent another commission to Paris to meet the representatives of Napoleon just risen to power. In the convention that grew out of the negotiation each party announced fair treatment for the shipping and sailors of the other. With the end of the war came also the end of the Franco-American alliance. From that time till now the United States has never been the ally of any European power.

By 1800 American merchantmen were sailing everywhere busy in every trade. They crowded the ports of Europe, competed with the British for the China trade, and sought profit and adventure

along the coasts of South America and amid the tropical islands of the South Seas. Year after year saw the prosperity of the American shipmasters mount higher and higher. Again war broke out between England and France, and again America remained neutral. For a time the profits of the neutral carrying trade surpassed those of peace. But the prosperity was not for long. Before 1807, the strokes and counter-strokes of the European struggle threatened the Americans with ruin.

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CHAPTER VIII

POLITICS AND PARTISANS

ALTHOUGH President Washington was deeply engrossed in grave foreign problems, he was even more concerned over domestic affairs. He hoped to preside over a non-partisan government, but he was soon disillusioned. He gave an aristocratic tone to the etiquette and customs of his high office and in so doing stirred up a swarm of critics who declared that he was false to the democratic spirit of America. When his Secretary of the Treasury, Hamilton, elaborated a financial program which unmistakably was based upon the theory that the new government had powers strongly centralized and national in scope, Washington's administration at once met stubborn resistance from those whose state pride or particular interests would have to be subordinated.

In the factional opposition to Hamilton of Jefferson and his clique the party of opposition, soon

known as the Democratic Republican, had its origin. After Washington preferred Hamilton's proposals in regard to Genet's mission, Jefferson withdrew from the Cabinet to become openly the leader of the opposition and a candidate for the presidency in 1796 when Washington would retire. In the meantime a popular uprising against Hamilton's excise had broken out. Mountaineer farmers in western Pennsylvania felt that this national law discriminated against their chief source of money income, the manufacture of whiskey. Hamilton's show of military strength easily dispersed the rebels. He maintained the supremacy of the national authority, but he also made many votes for Jefferson and the Republican party.

The Federalists were strong enough to elect John Adams as Washington's successor. Jefferson won second place and the vice-presidency. The Federalist party, however, was soon torn by a jealous feud between Adams and Hamilton. The controversy over the command of the army during the war with France only widened the breach between the two factions. They sought, nevertheless, to retain Federalist control of the government by striking down their Republican critics and assailants with a stringent sedition law. Instead

of silencing their enemies, their persecution of Republican journalists gave to their opponents a legitimate grievance of the greatest political value. To protest against the sedition law, Jefferson and Madison framed the famous Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions. In 1800 their followers rallied to Jefferson at the polls and elevated the Virginian planter to the presidency.

The turn of the political wheel which raised Jefferson to the height of power threw off the Federalist party in broken fragments. It never again gathered itself together in national strength although it was sustained for a quarter-century in New England by sectional interests. Yet in 1800 Jefferson realized that he had won but a partial victory. His party had captured the executive and the legislative branches of the central government, but his opponents still controlled the judiciary where Federalist judges headed by Chief Justice John Marshall enjoyed appointments for life.

Jefferson, therefore, set himself promptly to deprive his opponents of their remaining power. His cabinet contained two men from New England. His program of economical administration would appeal to all property-holders who paid

taxes. His inaugural address held out the olive branch to all individual Federalists. Then, he turned upon those obnoxious leaders of Federalism, the judges. Congress repealed the act which had given so many of them their places. The House of Representatives impeached Justice Chase of the Supreme Court whose remarks in trials under the Sedition Act had exasperated the Republicans. Marshall countered these blows at the judiciary with his famous declaration in *Marbury versus Madison* that the Constitution gave power to the Supreme Court to review legislation of Congress and declare it null and void if it were unconstitutional.

From the beginning the Vice-President had been a sinister figure in the Jeffersonian administration. He had intrigued with a group of reactionary Federalists in New England who were muttering words of disunion, and he had killed in a duel the leading Federalist, Hamilton, who had helped to thwart the scheme. Then, with his political future ruined, he had set out upon a mysterious expedition into the Southwest. Burr's exact motive in this undertaking will probably never be known, but the venture ended in the court house at Richmond, Virginia, with the former Vice-

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President on trial for treason. There, to the complete annoyance of Jefferson, Burr was acquitted for want of evidence by the Federalist, Chief Justice Marshall.

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THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW NATIONALISM

WHEN John Adams of New England turned over the government to the Virginian planter, Thomas Jefferson, one half of the great task of creating a nation had been well advanced toward completion. The machinery of a central government had been provided in the Constitution and had been set in motion by Washington and Hamilton. By 1801, it was functioning with considerable efficiency. If the new United States, however, were to look forward to stability and permanent independence, something more than merely an efficient government would be needed. Political independence must be supplemented by economic self-sufficiency. This did not mean that all trade ties with the outer world should be broken; on the contrary, they must be strengthened. It did mean, however, that the people of America should, in an emergency, be able to produce all the food, raw materials, and

manufactured articles necessary to maintain the life of the nation unimpaired. It fell to the lot of the Democratic-Republicans, led by Jefferson and Madison, to guide the American people through such an emergency.

A foretaste of the difficulties ahead was given by the increased insolence and aggressiveness of the Barbary pirates who seemed able to jeopardize American commerce at will. The time came, almost at the outset of Jefferson's administration, when the United States could no longer brook this menace. After a display of American naval power, the corsairs were willing to make fair promises. While Decatur and Bainbridge were active in the Mediterranean the settlers of Kentucky and Tennessee were watching with growing apprehension the return of the vast territory of Louisiana from Spanish to French control. Napoleon had secured possession of the mouth of the Mississippi. President Jefferson promptly undertook to purchase the island of New Orleans from the Corsican, in order that Americans might deposit their goods while they were being transferred from river boats to ocean-going ships. But Louisiana had suddenly become less attractive to the French, and Napoleon sold the whole territory to the amazed Americans.

So the stage was set for that population movement across the broad valley of the Mississippi which was one of the most striking episodes in the history of the United States. The Americans had scarcely grasped their good fortune when they found themselves caught in the maelstrom of a world war.

England and France were again at war, and this time there was to be no respite until Napoleon had fallen. At first the war brought prosperity to the American shipmasters who became the leading neutral traders. But there were insults and injuries on the high seas from both belligerents. By 1807 these had become unbearable. The peaceful Jefferson retaliated. By an economic boycott, he hoped to starve Europe into a respect for American rights. But his efforts failed to keep the United States out of war. For five years the troubles continued; then the young "war hawks" who had come out of the West forced the weak President Madison into decisive action. The West coveted Florida and Canada and was bitter against the British for their incitement of Indian raids on frontier settlements. The United States declared war.

With an empty treasury and military affairs in a muddle, the United States set out to conquer

Canada and combat the British fleet on the high seas. Disaster awaited the American armies in Canada. The British navy ultimately bottled up American merchantmen and warships in port but not until the union jack had been hauled down from more than one proud frigate and American privateers had become the scourge of the British merchant fleet. In the treaty of peace were mentioned none of the important issues which had brought on the war. Yet events proved that it marked the end of an era.

The second war with England, itself, profoundly affected American life. The United States had been practically cut off from the manufactures of Europe. On the Atlantic slope, particularly in maritime New England, industries to supply the resulting need had sprung up. Eastern manufacturers took a new and lively interest in the West where lay a constantly expanding market for their wares. In addition, the end of war in Europe cleared the seas of hostile warships and allowed the American merchant marine to develop unmolested. To the people who lived on the plains west of the mountains, the War of 1812 gave opportunity to destroy the military power of strong Indian tribes east of the Mississippi and thus to

open for settlement large areas of fertile land. The war removed the British threat on the northern frontier and on the south gave opportunity to force the Spaniard out of West Florida. This paved the way for the ultimate purchase of East Florida. America, which had hitherto looked toward Europe, now turned squarely about to face the West and, ignoring to a large extent the affairs of the world, bent to the task of creating a nation in a wilderness.

It was the beginning of a new national consciousness, a feeling of self-sufficiency and isolation. Throwing aside for the moment the sectionalism which had led New England to the verge of secession at the Hartford Convention, the American people sought to bind the agricultural sections of the West with the industrial section in the East and stand apart from the world. The old Federalist party which had retired from the national position of Hamilton upon the sectional interest of New England was broken and discredited.

The new nationalism was voiced in the decisions of Chief Justice Marshall which again and again asserted the supremacy of the federal over state governments. President Monroe proclaimed it to

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the world in the doctrine which Americans have come to call the cornerstone of their foreign policy. In the field of literature and learning, as well, this new nationalism was given expression. American men of letters at last received a European audience. American educators began to construct the school system which has become so typical of American nationhood.

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CHAPTER X

SECTIONALISM AND JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

ALTHOUGH the task of creating an efficient central government had been practically completed and the foundations of economic self-sufficiency firmly laid, the people of America still faced difficult work. Theirs was a country of great distances; it took weeks, sometimes months, to travel on horse-back and by stage-coach from outlying communities to the national capital. The broad barrier of the Appalachians divided the country into East and West; climatic differences created a North and South. The frontiersmen were ever on the move westward. Even before the presidency of Jackson, pioneers had settled beyond the Mississippi and advanced toward the towering Rockies. As the new nation finally shook off its dependence upon Europe, it faced the problem of preventing disintegration at home. Each section possessed an area sufficient for the creation of a nation of

respectable size, measured by European standards, and had peculiar interests that made such a development far from unlikely.

As the restless elements of New England and the Old South moved westward the contrast of sectional interests came into sharp relief. New Englanders soon outnumbered the earlier pioneers from the South in the new states north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. The Northwest became a land of small farms and little manufacturing industries based upon free labor. The cotton planters of the Old South advanced into the Gulf region and modified the earlier frontier society. Alabama and Mississippi became cotton-producing states dependent upon the plantation system and slave labor. The competition of New Englanders and Southerners for the West came to a deadlock over the admission of Missouri as a slave state. The resulting compromise maintained the balance of northern and southern representation in the Senate of the United States, but did not banish the specter of disintegration.

The flame of nationalism still mounted high. The Federalist party, discredited by its sectional opposition to the War of 1812, had ceased to be of national significance in 1814. During the two

administrations of Monroe, America had one political party, the Democratic-Republican party of Jefferson. It was the "era of good feeling." Under the surface, however, the Jeffersonian organization was breaking into factions centered about rival leaders, each leader representing a section. Out of the turmoil were eventually to rise two new parties, Democratic and Whig. The storm broke in 1824 when five aspirants sought the presidency. John Quincy Adams stood as the candidate of New England, Calhoun of the Old South, Clay for the West, and Crawford as heir to the Virginian succession. The fifth claimant to recognition was Andrew Jackson. The victorious commander at New Orleans paraded before the country as a national hero. In reality, he typified the rugged democracy, the social and economic equality of the frontier, for as yet the West was not definitely broken into Northern and Southern areas. Jacksonian Democracy was a manifestation of nationalism only in the sense that the interests of the West must be seen as the best interests of the nation. Jackson secured the largest popular vote, but he was deprived of the presidency. Adams and Clay joined to place the New Englander in the White House. Clay

became Secretary of State. Jackson's followers swore revenge for the "corrupt bargain" and began immediately to construct a party-machine that would control the next election.

Although he had won the presidency by a sectional coalition, Adams strove to make his administration national in character; but he, in turn, was overthrown by an alliance of sections. Calhoun became Jackson's running mate for the campaign of 1828. The cotton planters of the Old South joined with the frontiersmen from beyond the mountains to form the new Democratic party. For eight years Jackson maintained political mastery such as few presidents have achieved while his party enjoyed the spoils of partisan government. The Old South had expected that Jackson would break down the tariff walls built by the protectionist interests of Clay and Adams. Jackson's nationalism, however, was not hollow sound. When some of his allies in the Old South threatened to nullify the national tariff law, he joined with his political opponents, Clay and Webster, to put down this menace to the nation. But he opposed them, at the same time, in his war upon the Bank of the United States. This institution, enjoying a monopoly of national finance

and paying its dividends to Eastern aristocrats and foreign capitalists, made an admirable victim for the altar of western democracy.

Jackson, abandoning Calhoun and the southern planters, designated Martin Van Buren as his successor and secured his election in 1836. It fell to his lot to reap the whirlwind that the Jacksonian policies had sown in destroying the Bank and encouraging the "pet banks" to speculate with national funds. The Panic of 1837, in part the result of such unsound measures, paralyzed the country's business. As a remedy for national distress, Van Buren urged the establishment of the Sub-treasury system to safeguard public funds. With some modification that system has remained to the present time. Jackson also left to Van Buren the necessity of grasping the Texan nettle. If he did not recognize revolutionary Texas as independent of Mexico, the slave holders of the South and the expansionists of the West would turn upon him. If he did so, the wrath of the East where antislavery opinions were growing would be aroused. Van Buren chose the latter course as the lesser danger. Jackson handed on to his successor a third problem, the continuance of Jacksonian Democracy in power. In 1836, the

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opponents of Jacksonism had found a common name as Whigs, but the rival factions had been unable to decide upon a single candidate. By 1840, however, they united in the choice of General William Henry Harrison, a military hero, representing the nationalist enthusiasm of the West. With an uproarious campaign for "True Democracy," in which hard cider flowed abundantly, the Whigs drove Van Buren and the Jacksonians from power.

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Whereas Jackson was vehement in opposition to nullification of a federal statute by South Carolina, he ignored Georgia's nullification of a federal judicial decision. Perhaps personal antipathies toward Calhoun, leader of nullification in South Carolina, and Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States, explain even if they do not reconcile the inconsistencies of the President.

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The United States had failed in repeated attempts since the Revolution to gain admission for its vessels into the direct trade with the British West Indies. The administration of John Quincy Adams had neglected to take advantage of an offer from Great Britain, and it had been withdrawn. Jackson's administration reopened negotiations and conducted them so skilfully that at last American vessels were allowed to participate in the West Indian trade.

Jackson also secured a settlement of claims against France arising out of depredations upon American commerce during the Napoleonic wars. Under the reign of Louis Philippe in 1831, France agreed to a treaty, but the French chamber of deputies made no appropriation of funds to meet the payments agreed upon. Jackson controlled his irritation until 1834 and then

recommended to Congress reprisals upon French property. France became angry, recalled its minister, and demanded an apology from Jackson. He remained firm but gave France a loophole for escape from humiliation. Great Britain's offer of mediation was accepted and the American claims soon paid.

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Harrison died a month after his inauguration. Tyler, an old "States Rights" Democrat whose opposition to Jackson had placed him among the Whigs, became President. But Clay considered himself the director of Whig policies and announced the program: repeal of the sub-treasury law, creation of a national bank, and restoration of protective tariffs. Tyler gave his assent to the first measure but opposed the others so firmly that Clay's followers read the President out of the Whig party. Tyler then took Calhoun and pro-slavery Democrats into his administration.

In the campaign of 1844, Clay was the Whig candidate. He attempted to hold the middle ground that the annexation of Texas would not necessarily mean the extension of slavery. Both Northern and Southern men lost confidence in him. With a frank demand for national expansion Polk won the election for the Democratic party. In opposition to Polk's administration the Whigs vainly resisted the re-establishment of the sub-

treasury system and the reduction of tariff duties. When war with Mexico broke out, "conscience Whigs" in the North urged the Wilmot Proviso that territories acquired from Mexico should not be open for the extension of slavery.

The Whig party evaded the slavery issue in the presidential campaign of 1848 and nominated the military hero, General Zachary Taylor. Many northern Whigs bolted from the party to form a coalition with anti-slavery Democrats, the Free Soil party, in support of Van Buren. His candidacy hurt the chances of the regular Democratic nominee, Cass, and assured the election of Taylor. Once more in control of the national government, the Whigs were obliged to settle the controversy over the territory acquired from Mexico. Clay's compromise measures arranged for such a settlement but included a stringent fugitive slave law which "conscience Whigs" could never obey. But Southern Whigs insisted that the Compromise of 1850 must be final. On that rock the Whig party met shipwreck. Party leaders endeavored to steer the party through the treacherous waters. Georgian Whigs wrote the party platform of 1852. The nomination was given to another military hero, General Winfield Scott. But enough Southern Whigs abandoned the party to throw the election to the Democratic "dark horse," General Pierce of New Hampshire. The Whig party never again put a candidate in the field. Young Whigs in the North joined the new Republican party. Older Whigs turned half-heartedly to the Know Nothing party and supported Fillmore in the election of 1856. Then they joined the Constitutional Union party of 1860. In the South, old Whigs had a momentary sojourn in the Know Nothing party, but sooner or later united with the Democrats.

CHAPTER XI

COMMERCE, INDUSTRY, AND THE TARIFF TO THE CIVIL WAR

THE four and one half decades that elapsed between the Peace of Ghent and the outbreak of the Civil War saw great changes in the commercial and industrial life of America. Packet ships from Boston to New York hurried back and forth across the Atlantic on regular schedules. Great clipper ships, the glory of the old merchant marine, rounded Cape Horn, looked in at San Francisco in the days of the gold rush, and vied with all comers for the trade of the Orient. Whalers from Sag Harbor, Nantucket, and New Bedford could be found on every ocean. Few were the sea-lanes that did not know the American flag in the Forties and Fifties. In the same years that Yankee clippers were establishing contact with the ports of the world, home-staying Americans were binding the nation together with improved communication.

With the opening of the Nineteenth Century came the first good roads movement which created, particularly in the East, a network of turnpikes. The great Cumberland road across the mountains bound the seaboard to the rich interior lowland. The canal followed hard upon the heels of the new highway and, in 1825, when a line of cannon from Buffalo to New York boomed out the completion of the Erie Canal, opened a new era in transportation. East and West alike felt the change. State after state became familiar with the canal boat and the tow-path. Already had begun the utilization of the vast river system of the Mississippi Valley. From the days of the first Kentucky settlements, flat boats and keel boats had floated down the Ohio and the Mississippi bearing produce and immigrants. With the coming of the steamboat, new monsters appeared upon the inland rivers carrying heavy cargoes between the Northwest and the South.

In the latter region, following the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, cotton growing had spread from the Atlantic coast plain, first to the uplands of the Piedmont, and then on into the rich country of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. With cotton had gone the plantation system and slav-

ery. When the Eighteenth Century ended, it seemed as though slavery was doomed, but the prosperity founded on cotton gave it new life. Southern leaders, from apologizing for it as a necessary evil, came to look upon it as a positive good.

While Southern culture was spreading through the Southwest, a transformation was occurring in the North and East. Industrialism had made its appearance shortly before the War of 1812, and the new factory was appearing from New England to the Ohio Valley. Industry brought with it the problem of labor. Streams of immigrants from Europe fed the mills of America with unskilled workmen who congregated in towns and cities in little foreign groups unfamiliar with American ways. It was inevitable that class-consciousness should develop and that the laborers, individually weak, should attempt collective action to gain their ends, shorter hours and more pay. In the hard times of 1837 many of these early unions went to pieces but, as the country recovered and work became more plentiful, labor organizations again became active. Here and there in America during this period of growth appeared utopian experiments, communistic societies of the literati at

Brook Farm and of common folk in New Harmony.

The country was more amused than alarmed over these social experiments, but the problem of the tariff which was so interwoven with the social and political life of the people was no trivial matter. From the beginning under the Constitution, the principle of protection for American industries had entered into public policy. When the wave of nationalist feeling swept over the land after the War of 1812, protection became the cardinal doctrine of Henry Clay's "American System." When the coalition of Clay and Adams came to power, the promotion of the industrial interests of their sections was assured. The controversy over high tariffs grew intense. Protection became one of the chief issues in the election of 1828. The South expected that Jackson would check the protectionist movement. But Jackson did not put a stop to Congressional pyramiding of tariff duties. Some of his allies in the Old South broke away from his party. Calhoun tried, in 1832, the weapon of nullification to defend the interests of his section. Clay then brought forward his compromise plan of a ten-year truce. Protection was to be whittled down gradually. At the end of the

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decade, however, Clay sought to restore the protective principle to former vigor. The tariff of 1842 provided for an increase of duties, but the Democratic victory of 1844 put an end to Clay's plans. Thereafter the Democratic tariffs of 1846 and 1857 were the law of the land, and they looked away from protection toward the ideal of free trade. On the eve of the Civil War, the new Republican party made good its maiden promises to the manufacturers. The Morrill tariff, portent of the future, definitely aimed to establish the protective principles.

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The hard times of 1819. With the return of peace after the War of 1812, the United States entered a period of rapid development. The industries which had started under the protection of war counted upon the Tariff of 1816 to give them continued security against foreign manufactures. New settlers hurried to the western territories and bought large tracts of the public land. To finance the first payments on their homesteads, they borrowed from the small banks which sprang up in every locality like mushrooms. The American people were thrilled with the prospect of great wealth in the near future. But the development had been too rapid. Investments in land had gone beyond the possibility of immediate returns into speculation on future values. Banking became a craze. Sound principles were cast aside for "wildcat" schemes. The tariff of 1816 did not hold back the flood of British goods. They were poured upon the American market at such low prices that American industry could not compete. When therefore the Bank of the United States abandoned its policy of expansion, contracted its loans, and forced local banks to liquidate their debts, it precipitated a panic. The hollow structure of prosperity collapsed.

State legislatures and Congress at once sought remedies for the nation-wide distress. State laws placed taxes upon the Bank of the United States in retaliation for its coercion of local banks. Other legislation relieved debtors from immediate payment of their obligations. Congress revised the national land laws. The Act of 1820 reduced the price of public lands from \$2.00 to \$1.25 an acre, cut down the required amount of purchase from 160 to 80 acres, and abolished the credit system of sales. The Act of 1821 released those who had begun to purchase lands on partial payments from their contracts and gave

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to them as much land as they had paid for. Then, Congress raised the tariff duties to protect American industry. Henry Clay championed the Tariff of 1820 and enunciated the principles of his "American System." Protective tariffs were necessary to assure a home market for American manufactures. The industrial states in the east should devote their energy to manufacturing, and the agricultural states in the west would supply them with foodstuffs in return for their manufactures. To bring about such co-operation and independence of foreign goods, Clay insisted that the two sections must be linked with turnpikes and canals, internal improvements. Further, the government should sell the western lands liberally to encourage agriculture. The "American System" had the appearance of a national policy. In reality, it was the program of a sectional alliance. The shipowners of the seaboard and the cotton-planters of the south drew together in opposition and demanded free-trade. The debate over succeeding tariffs revealed an increasingly bitter competition among sectional interests.

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Opponents of protection

Webster for the shipowners of New England

Hayne for the planters of the South

The Tariff of 1824 did not satisfy the producers of woolen goods. England reduced its tax on wool, making it possible for English manufacturers to lower prices and slip their goods into the American market at lower valuations, thus escaping the American duties which were levied *ad valorem*. In 1827 Mallory, a representative in Congress for the wool-growing state of Vermont, introduced a bill which proposed to tax woolen goods according to minimum valuations. Any article valued under the minimum in its class was taxed at that minimum rate. The bill was defeated in the Senate by the vote of Vice-President

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Calhoun. Immediately the friends of protection rallied in convention at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to frame a program for national action. The presidential candidates of 1828 found that they must state their views. Adams was an outspoken protectionist. Jackson also committed himself to protection, with reservations. But Calhoun and the Southern opponents of protection seemed to count upon bringing Jackson over to their side, and they hoped to make the "Tariff of Abominations" too much for the stomach of New England.

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The intervening actions of Great Britain

Mallory's bill of 1827

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His uncertainty

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Southern remonstrance

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Calhoun, secret author

Southern disappointment in Jackson

Fixation of the principle of protection

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Revision of the duties

Reduction of revenue

The determination of South Carolina to oppose
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Nullification

Peacemakers

The failure of Van Buren's friends

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Clay and the Whigs against President Tyler

Return of the Democrats to power

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Reduction of duties

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The lowest point of protection

The panic of 1857

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The effect on King Cotton

The Morrill tariff of 1861

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Campaign promises of the Republicans

Return to the protective principle

CHAPTER XII

THE NATIONAL BANK, FINANCE, AND THE EARLY RAILROADS

ON the eve of the second war with England, the Jeffersonian Republicans had discarded the first National Bank, which had been organized by the Federalist Hamilton. As a result, their government had to fight without adequate means to handle the financial problems that the war created. They tried to employ state banks as their fiscal agents. Chaos was inevitable. One of the first of the post-war problems, accordingly, was the establishment of a new national bank, the second Bank of the United States, modeled closely upon Hamilton's institution. Upon the return of peace, a craze for banking swept over the country with the wave of national enthusiasm. Speculation in western lands enticed local banks into unsound investments. Even the new Bank of the United States was led into the speculative dance for a

time, but it soon abandoned such a dangerous policy and set itself to conduct a conservative business and serve the nation. Its size and power, and its resistance to wildcat banking, brought upon it the hostility of the frontier people. When Jackson, representative of the West, came to the presidency, those western prejudices against aristocracy and privileged classes turned him against the Bank. He opposed its re-charter and took the national revenues from its control to deposit them with "pet banks." The Panic of 1837, in part a result of Jackson's actions, left a majority of the American people convinced that private institutions should not be allowed to handle public funds. Jackson's successor, Martin Van Buren, proposed the Independent Treasury to care for the government's money.

In the year of Jackson's election to the presidency the first railroad across the Appalachian mountains was begun. Yet it was not until the Forties that the new means of transportation began to come into its own. The canal boom had lasted from the completion of the successful Erie Canal in 1825 to the Panic of 1837. When prosperity came again it was the railroad rather than the tow-path that held public attention. A na-

tional system of communications spread an ever increasing web of tracks over the country from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi. With the discovery of gold in California transcontinental lines were talked of. In this expansion, the North far outstripped the South until the railroad had bound New England more closely to the Northwest than in a previous decade the Mississippi river had joined it to the South.

But the growth was too rapid for a new country. A temporary check came in the Panic of 1857 which brought distress and heavy losses to Northern industry and agriculture. King Cotton, however, escaped, and the Southerners reasoned that their section was economically unassailable. Disillusionment did not come to them until four years later, when the superior industrial and transportation facilities of the North told heavily in the war between the states. To the Confederacy, the war brought social and economic ruin. The North, though slowed down, continued to make economic progress.

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The share in the crisis of 1819

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Jackson's veto of the bill

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"Removal of the Deposits"

The use of "Pet Banks"

The temptation to speculate

The Panic of 1837

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The causes which have thrown the American people into financial panics have moved in cycles. The underlying forces of the panic of 1819 slowly regained control over the mind of the public and plunged it to disaster again in 1837. Stimulated by a succession of good years, the American people once more became over sanguine. They built canals and railroads beyond the needs of the country. Their state governments borrowed heavily of British capital for internal improvements. They embarked in wild banking enterprises and speculated feverishly in cotton plantations, city real estate, and western lands. A vicious circle was soon in operation piling up unsound credit accounts in local banks. For these loans, the banks issued in large part their own paper currency. The borrowers presented the bank notes at the public land office in payment for their purchases. The land office deposited the bank notes as national

revenues in the local "pet bank" of Jackson's administration. With these additional funds at its disposal, the bank proceeded to make further loans of paper money. In this round of transactions nothing of intrinsic worth had changed hands except the land, and it was, too frequently, uncultivated or non-productive. Crop failures, furthermore, delayed returns from the investments in land and obliged the banks to carry the accounts of their creditors longer than they had planned. As a result, they were rapidly approaching the brink of disaster when Jackson's "Specie Circular" required that payments for public lands be made in gold or silver coin. Then, the tower of credit tumbled suddenly in ruins. To make matters worse for the government, it had begun, at the insistence of Clay and his followers, to distribute among the states the surplus which had been accumulating in the national treasury since the national debt had been extinguished in 1835.

The panic of 1837, however, was not entirely due to the faults of the American people. In fact, it was precipitated by failures in Great Britain. The excess of British exports to the United States during the Thirties had been balanced by the sale of American securities in Great Britain and the establishment of credits abroad. Large commercial houses in London with close American relations were affected by these failures and obliged to contract their credits. American business at once was sharply depressed.

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CHAPTER XIII

APPROPRIATION OF THE CONTINENT

AMERICA was not to be held within the bounds of the inheritance from Great Britain or the purchase from France. It was to acquire more and more territory and constantly to advance its frontier westward. In the Twenties the Floridas finally fell from the weak grasp of Spain. In the Thirties Americans laid out their plantations on the Texan plains within the domain of Mexico. They revolted against the control of a people to whom they were foreign in blood and tradition and won their independence on the battlefield. During the Forties, long trains of canvas-covered prairie schooners jolted over the Oregon Trail to the valley of the Columbia. Oregon, hitherto a fur-trading country, the home of a handful of British and American trappers and traders, became an American settlement. In 1844, complete ownership was demanded by the people of the United

States. Two years later England consented to divide the region at the forty-ninth parallel. In the same year war broke out between the United States and Mexico, incensed over the American annexation of Texas. The treaty of peace which brought an end to the conflict added the vast region of Arizona, New Mexico, and California to the territory of the United States. Throughout these decades, Americans had talked much of their country's "manifest destiny" to possess the continent from sea to sea. By 1848 this ambition had become a reality. Immediately after the Civil War the Russian offer to sell Alaska was accepted.

The peace treaty with Mexico had hardly been signed when gold was discovered in California. The Mormons, who had journeyed over the first mountain barrier into the arid valleys of Utah to establish their own independent state, as they thought, far beyond the reach of the United States, now saw the tide of American migration rush past them to the gold fields. A large American settlement at once appeared in the great central valley of California. The earlier Spanish traditions and civilization were submerged. When gold mining became less profitable, farming took its place. The new community did not break up. The early

Americans in California were not daunted by the problems of a rapidly increasing population. They brought order out of lawlessness in a way that reveals fundamental qualities in the American character.

“Manifest Destiny” had carried the border of the United States to the Pacific. But the frontier did not sweep westward in an uninterrupted course across the continent following the acquisition of new lands. It pushed up the western slope of the Mississippi Valley approximately to the region of the High Plains; then it leaped the barrier of the Rockies and the Sierra Nevadas and appeared in the valleys of the Pacific coast. The settlement of the region of the mountains and the High Plains was delayed until after the war between the states. This was the last American frontier.

Early in our history the original English-speaking stock, always in the forefront of westward expansion, had been joined by newcomers from Europe, who were attracted by the cheap lands. Germans, Irish, and Swedes were the most numerous. The negro, held fast by slavery, was seldom found north of the cotton-producing areas of the West. As, year after year, the stream of settlement moved on, gaining steadily in volume, it

worked prodigious changes. Early pack trails gave way to roads and railroads. Mountain prospectors, picturesque seekers after the golden fleece, were supplanted by the capitalist and the mining corporation. The vast herds of bison that roamed the grasslands east of the Rockies melted away leaving the Indians of the plains deprived of the very foundation of their life. War flamed up from Dakota to Texas, the last desperate stand of a doomed race. Herds of cattle succeeded the bison. Then the cattleman had to abandon his ranges to the farmer enclosing his little homestead with barbed wire fences. With the advent of the plough, the frontier passed rapidly out of American life.

The settlers who broke the virgin soil and set themselves to the task of making homes on the western plains had naturally a zeal for education. To support it a fine missionary spirit in the older communities along the Atlantic seaboard sent money for the endowment of schools and colleges. They were almost without exception religious institutions, sometimes perhaps established to do little more than propagate particular sectarian convictions among the folk of the frontier, but more often imbued with a spirit of genuine service.

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As the West grew in population and prosperity the idea that education was a public concern became practically universal. From it sprang to vigorous life those state universities that are typical of America west of the Appalachians.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE RISE OF SECTIONAL STRIFE

SIDE by side with expansion to the Pacific coast during the first half of the Nineteenth Century went the growth of sectional dissension within the nation. The trouble arose from contrasts between the North and South that were, in the last analysis, the outgrowth of a climatic difference. North of the Ohio were the varied conditions of the temperate zone. To the south of it, the climate became more and more subtropical. In the heart of the cotton and sugar country white men could not work efficiently at manual labor. To supply the necessary labor, negroes had been imported from Africa early in colonial times. It was found that in the South, whether the crop was tobacco, rice, or cotton, negroes could be used most efficiently when handled in gangs. This led to the growth of the plantation system. Its growth was further stimulated by the cheapness

of land in the new country and by the need for constant substitution of virgin soil in place of fields worn out by cropping. When the invention of the cotton-gin, in 1793, fixed cotton as the staple crop of the South, the plantation system with its slave labor was firmly established and practically universalized. The only areas into which it did not advance were the upland valleys of the Appalachians and the lowland regions where the soil was sandy and infertile.

The plantation brought about a definite and permanent social stratification. At the top was the planter and at the bottom the slave. Between the two were grades of lesser whites and free blacks. The southern civilization was aristocratic to the core. Its outstanding characteristics were differences in wealth, social position, and political power.

In sharp contrast was the democracy of the Northwest, built also upon agriculture. The small farmer of the northern half of the Ohio valley was the economic and political equal of his neighbor. In the communities where he lived, democracy was as inevitable as cultivating the land. Here slave labor was economically so inefficient that the prohibition of the Ordinance of 1787 was hardly needed. In the northern states, east of

the Alleghanies, commercial and industrial enterprises were rapidly developing. But, although they were causing an unequal distribution of wealth, they were not as yet seriously modifying the general ideal of democracy.

In the young United States, therefore, two civilizations had appeared: one agricultural, commercial and industrial, with its political institutions founded on democracy; the other almost solely agricultural, with its social and political life built on aristocracy. Both civilizations, in the beginning, supported the central government and favored national expansion.

Three factors made for discord. The first was the inevitable dislike of the people of each section for the different institutions and ideals of the other. This was particularly true in the North where the dislike of slavery grew to the proportions of a moral crusade. The second was a disparity in growth of population, a condition which threatened the equality of the South with the North in the councils of the nation. This led to the development of an interpretation of the Constitution to protect the rights of a minority, the theory of nullification. The third and probably the most important factor was the competition of the two

civilizations for the unsettled public domain. Northerners, naturally, wished to exclude the obnoxious institution of slavery from the new country. Southerners, quite as naturally, wished to increase the area of their section as much as possible. They were anxious to expand into the territories of Texas and California. The sectional struggle became most acute on the climatic borderline where the states of Missouri and Kansas were established. This struggle for the national domain ultimately brought on war.

It is perhaps easier to understand why the South wished to abandon the Union than why the North desired to compel it to stay. The Southerner who squarely faced the facts saw clearly that his civilization was menaced; that the North wished to and was able to put slavery on the way to ultimate extinction. He believed that the result in his own section would be a social revolution, the consequences of which no man could foresee. His home, his wife and daughters, the whole structure of his society would be confronted by a black menace if the slaves should gain their freedom and feel the power that lay in their numbers. If this was the price that he must pay for loyalty to the Union, he would fight, if need be, for Southern

freedom. Why, he asked, if the Northerner so deeply disliked Southern institutions, should the North not be willing to let the South go in peace? Why undertake a fratricidal war to compel an unwilling section to remain within a Union that threatened to tear in shreds its whole social fabric?

The answer is not easy. In the North, as the country had expanded, the spirit of nationalism had grown. Webster had preached it in his great orations; Clay had woven it into the compromises with which he was associated; economic interchange had knit the nation into a closer and closer union. If the South left the Union the nation would be deeply, irreparably wounded. Was such to be the ending to the dreams of the men who had labored to make America free and to establish its independence? Northerners, already angered at the South for wrongs that they believed the "slaveocracy" had committed, could not stand calmly by and permit this colossal injury to their nation. National patriotism was, therefore, enlisted against the Southerner. Many men in the North joined the Union armies to free the black man. The battle was joined with idealism burning bright on both sides. The time of America's greatest testing was at hand.

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CHAPTER XV

THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

ALL efforts to reconcile the sections were in vain. Southern radicals went defiantly from secession to the organization of a Confederacy. Lincoln refused to accept a compromise which altered the original terms of Union. North and South waited tensely for the overt act that would precipitate war. Southern batteries fired upon Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston; there was then no turning back. After the first encounter, each side paused for a time and with feverish haste undertook the organization of its strength. The North was superior in man-power and in economic resources. The South excelled in the initial unity of sentiment among its people and in the caliber of its military leaders. Moreover, its task was easier than that of its opponent. To win, the South had only to hold off the Federal armies until the North grew tired of fighting, or a foreign na-

tion interfered. To that end, Southern agents labored persistently at Paris and London. The North could only secure victory by destroying completely the military power of the South, a task of extreme difficulty.

To the North from the beginning went the offensive. Its strategy was directed toward three objectives: first, to blockade the Southern coast and thus prevent the export of cotton and the import of war materials; second, to open navigation on the Mississippi and thereby isolate the western half of the Confederacy; and third, to capture Richmond, the Southern capital. By 1863, the blockade was working with such efficiency that the South was slowly being strangled. Control of the Mississippi, from source to mouth, was finally secured with the surrender of Vicksburg on July 3, 1863. By November of the same year, practically all of the region west of the Appalachian mountains was cut off from the Confederacy by the Federal victory at Chattanooga. In 1864, while Grant struggled with Lee in the wilderness of Virginia, Sherman drove across the southern end of the Atlantic slope and destroyed the military power of the Lower South. It was in Virginia that Confederate armies made their

magnificent stand. For four years, they held off the heaviest Northern attacks and even made two counter-attacks. These proved to be without lasting results, for they failed either to force the North to give up the war or to secure foreign intervention. Nevertheless, it was not until practically all of the Confederacy outside of Virginia had fallen into the hands of the enemy that the confederate government fled from Richmond and Lee's army collapsed. There was no peace treaty. Southern political and military organization, central and local, had been destroyed. The military government of Northern armies took its place.

Strange indeed was the contrast between the two presidents who directed the warring sections. Davis was of the aristocracy, with military training and a long political experience. He was called to the leadership of a united people, fired with the conviction that their cause was just. But during the term of office he was forced to watch the Confederacy slowly disintegrate and was driven to the bitter realization that his people had lost confidence in him. Lee, not Davis, became the symbol of Southern idealism. Lincoln came from humble folk. His education was scanty and his political experience limited. At a time of crisis he

was called to the leadership of a people still groping for a way out of besetting difficulties. He handled skilfully a group of able subordinates, often hostile to himself, and he guided the North far along the road to unity. In his policies a stern purpose was tempered by humanity. When his death came, his section almost universally hailed Lincoln as the saviour of the nation.

The Civil War was a great selective force. The very fact of the war was, in itself, evidence that two civilizations, such as were typified in the North and the South, could not exist side by side in the nation. The war selected out one of these, the southern, and destroyed it. After the conflict ended, vindictive elements in the North gained the ascendancy at the national capital and forced a pitiless course of reconstruction upon the former Confederates. By rapid stages, the "Vindictives" raised the bewildered negro to the dignity of the franchise and gave into his hands control of state and local government in the South. To make the humiliation of Southerners more painful, these "Black Republican" governments were supported by white men of questionable character and motive who gathered from both North and South. It was this ordeal that created the "Solid South."

The war did not solve the negro problem; it only modified conditions. That question still remains.

Throughout the struggle between the American states, Europe had looked on with strangely mixed emotions. British manufacturers were dependent upon Southern cotton. The British nobility was sympathetic with the aristocratic cotton-planter and indifferent to the lot of the negro slave. But the middle classes and notably the laborers in the English cotton-mills were devoted to the North because of anti-slavery feeling. It needed only Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and the prospect of Federal victory to turn British opinion to the Northern side. Southern agents saw vanish the hope that Great Britain would recognize Southern independence. Southern bonds lost all attractiveness for British capital. After the war Great Britain accepted the decision of the Geneva Tribunal. Damages were awarded to the United States for depredations by the Confederate commerce-raiders which had been fitted out in British ports.

France under Napoleon III gave secret aid to Southern agents, talked openly of interference if Great Britain would co-operate, and dreamed of another French empire in America. French troops

appeared in North America and set Maximilian of Austria upon a Mexican throne. But the enthusiasm of Napoleon III was rapidly destroyed by the coolness of Great Britain. The troops in Mexico retired before the menaces of the triumphant North, leaving Maximilian to his fate.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE RISE OF BIG BUSINESS

DURING the first sixty years of the Nineteenth Century the United States grew until it nearly equalled in area the whole of Europe, the most amazing feat of expansion and settlement that the world had ever known. The American people were still moving rapidly and steadily westward to fill up the empty spaces when a grim war between the states all but split the nation into two. Few Americans realized, when this struggle was ended, that their country was on the verge of an industrial expansion as amazing as the territorial growth which had preceded. By the middle of the century many European nations had advanced far into a new industrial civilization. The United States still remained largely a nation of pioneering farmers. Hidden in the territory of the young nation was mineral wealth surpassing all European conceptions. Yet at the end of the Civil

War, he would have been a bold American indeed who would have predicted that, before the century had ended, his country would have outstripped the world's greatest industrial nations in organization and production.

In 1865, business was conducted on what seems by subsequent standards a small scale. There were some corporations, notably to build railroads, but most of the nation's commerce and industry was in the hands of private individuals. Familiar evidences of the new order were lacking: "the cities of skyscrapers, the long miles of steel rails and telegraph poles, the gigantic railroad terminals, the great bridges across the rivers, the many-windowed factories with their tall chimneys, their clouds of smoke and their flaming furnaces." The business man of the Sixties did not have the money, the labor, the ability to accumulate materials, nor the organization to produce these results; but, in the span of a generation they were accomplished. During the first quarter of the Twentieth Century, America forged rapidly ahead into a position of unquestioned economic superiority over the rest of the world.

Five things brought it about: communications improved for the transportation of materials and

the transmission of ideas over vast distances; new machines of tremendous power and wonderful dexterity; labor to direct the machines and do the work which only men could do; organization to co-ordinate the multitude of operations and to regulate the activities of the laborers employed in the process of manufacture and sale; and concentration of capital to furnish the financial power necessary for the formation of gigantic enterprises. Underneath all was the basic factor of America's wealth in natural resources.

Strong leaders appeared to build up those great enterprises. They warred among themselves, with a ruthlessness in their early conflicts reminiscent of the battles by which the red man had been driven from his hunting grounds. The strongest and most fortunate won. Then they began to unite for the purpose of forming still greater enterprises. The corporation became the "trust"; competition broke down. Much of the wealth created by the new developments passed into the control of a powerful few. They became industrial giants who gathered into their own hands the factories and systems of transportation of the nation. America, and then the world, became their market. Again and again they sur-

passed their competitors abroad. They accumulated wealth hitherto undreamed of. When the Great War shook Europe to its foundations, their financial center became the financial center of the world, and the economic power which they had amassed became a powerful factor in checking rampant militarism.

They were few, these industrial giants, yet they were but the leaders of an army of business men out of whose ranks they had come and whence new figures were constantly emerging. Thus, the old American ideal of democracy passed over into the new era. The pioneer spirit of the old frontier stirred the farsighted organizer in the new order. The qualities of courage, aggressiveness, and steadfastness that had marked the rough origins of America marked also the strenuous development of the newer civilization. As the Nineteenth Century passed, the task of creating a nation in a wilderness had nearly reached completion.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE CONSEQUENCES OF INDUSTRIALISM

AMERICAN life had to adjust itself to the new industrial order which came after the Civil War. The American conception of democracy, an equal chance for everyone, gave opportunity for a few strong men to climb to dizzy heights of fortune and power, but laboring men stumbled over one another and got nowhere. Farmers found themselves in a new situation. Before the War they had formed so large a part of the population that they had never thought of themselves as a separate group. In the forty years after 1860 the population of the nation more than doubled. Of that great increase the larger part massed in the cities, making them huge congested areas presenting strange problems to the new generation. By 1920, city dwellers outnumbered the rural population. Economists estimate that now every husbandman must produce food enough for three

families. Both laboring man and farmer rapidly became conscious of their special interests. Each group turned to collective action to protect itself in the contest with the rising power of capitalism.

Laborers endeavored to obtain better wages and working conditions but they were not able to keep pace with the growing strength of the employer. As a result, times that were particularly hard drove the wage-earner to violence. The terrors of 1877, 1886, and 1894 impressed upon thinking men that all was not well in American society even if huge corporations were towering above ordinary business structures and some men grew fabulously rich. During the Eighties it seemed as though the secret organization, the Knights of Labor, might draw the laboring class into one big union. But its radical excesses in 1886 discredited the organization. It collapsed with unexpected suddenness. The American Federation of Labor, based on sounder principles, took its place as the national body of organized labor. Apart from the Federation have grown up four strong railroad brotherhoods. Together, they have held in check radical elements within their organizations, scorning the "Reds" as un-American. But they have failed to put labor in the place of power that it desires

and that in some industrial countries it has attained.

The ranks of American labor have been swelled by a host of Europeans who came to man machines in the new factories, to lay railroad tracks, and to mine coal and metals for America's industries. The appeal of high wages and cheap land in America was felt throughout Europe. Prior to the Civil War the north of Europe had furnished the majority of those who sought the United States, but, as American industry grew, the main source shifted to Mediterranean countries. A few of these newcomers struck out as of old for the frontier but most of them crowded into the great manufacturing cities. Their babble of foreign tongues and confusion of national prejudices defied the process of Americanization that had worked rapidly among the earlier immigrants. The test of the World War brought sharply into view the failures of the American "melting pot." The conviction has grown upon the American people that the flood of aliens must be checked if the racial character of the nation is to be preserved. The old policy of welcome to all has been replaced by close restriction.

No more marked was the effect of industrialism

on labor than on the farmer. As Eastern capitalists spread a web of railroads over the continent, the Western homesteaders became conscious of common interests with the farmers of the Ohio and Mississippi river valleys and of the South. Railroad monopolies and high freight rates goaded the farmers to take collective action in Granges and Alliances. Many state legislatures passed "Grange Laws" to regulate the railroads. In the long run, however, the agrarian organizations failed. Most spectacular of all was the defeat of the Populist party in 1896. In the Twentieth Century the farmers have learned the art of organization and now enjoy the political power which it brings.

The new industrial age has made significant changes in the South. When the ordeal of Reconstruction had passed, the Southerners faced the task of building a new civilization upon the ruins of the old. The negro was a freeman. The white man staggered under a load of public and private debt. Yet, in less than half a century a new South has emerged. Its life, although different from that of the rest of the nation, shows unmistakably that forces operating in the West and North are also active in the Cotton Kingdom. The small

farmer has usurped the place once held by the old aristocratic planter and, like the western farmer, has caught the meaning of organization. As industrialism has worked its way southward, mines, steel mills, and textile factories have increased. A new white labor group has formed. But the negro question, from earliest times the peculiar problem of the South, remains — as yet unanswered.

Industrialism created a New South. It brought new problems to the laborer and the farmer. The whole economic foundation of the nation was changing and in adjustment to it the entire superstructure of American civilization was being rebuilt. If the factories created great cities, humanitarianism sought to relieve the misery and degradation of the slum. Religion offered the mission, the Salvation Army, and the Christian Associations. Rich churches that had supported the struggling missionaries on the frontier now also established outposts among the poor. Education took on a new significance as the public school became the center of Americanization. As the tasks of the new day had become intricate, colleges and universities turned to the training of specialists. There was little time for quiet medi-

tation. Men of letters appeared here and there, but their message was not matured, for they lived in a time of transition. They were linked to the men of the Fifties who had brought American literature into flower and pointed the way to the future when the ideals and emotions of the new order should become articulate.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE NEW SECTIONALISM

THE Civil War left the Republican party in complete control of the national government. The Democrats were discredited by secession in the South and opposition to the war in the North. Furthermore, the Southern whites were disfranchised. As the negroes had been given the vote they had been herded into the ranks of the Republicans. Enjoying the prestige of military victory, the party of Lincoln could look forward to a long lease of power at Washington. Its security in power, however, was one of its greatest dangers.

From the idealism of the war period Republican leaders plunged into the vindictiveness of reconstruction. By giving the negro the vote, they created a "Solid South" in opposition. Moreover, as industrialism developed, manufacturers and railroad builders had favors to ask of the

politician both state and national. They naturally approached the party in power. Big business became intimately allied with the Republican party. Agrarian groups watched this rapprochement with misgivings. Politics like all other phases of American life were making adjustments to the new order.

The most striking of these was the intricate development of the party machine and the rising power of the political boss. More and more the opportunities of business drew the best men away from competition for public office. They did not, however, abandon politics but exerted their influence through dealing with the boss and his organization. As a result, the class of professional politicians grew in number and importance. The sustaining force of the party machine was the material reward which faithful service could ensure. These were sometimes profitable contracts but more often offices in the civil service of the state or nation. The henchmen of the party in power lived on the fruits of victory. Opponents hoped for the day when their turn would come. The corruption which came to the surface in Grant's administration and continued vindictiveness toward the South brought inevitable reaction.

Liberal Republicans broke with the organization of their party in 1872 and centered their attack upon the "spoils system." Western farmers also wavered in their Republican allegiance. They believed that the party was granting undue favors to Northern manufacturers and Eastern railroad capitalists. Protective tariffs, high freight rates, and a contracting currency all seemed to be designed for the benefit of the North and East. Agrarian parties from the West, therefore, entered national politics and sought alliances with Eastern laborers and fellow farmers in the South. A new sectionalism had appeared. But, one after another, the parties of protest met failure. The machine remained unshaken. The connection between business and politics grew closer.

For a quarter century, from 1861 to 1885, the Republican party held the presidency. Within its ranks the struggle between the liberals and the organization continued. When President Garfield was assassinated by a disappointed office-seeker, the machine gave way to the demand for civil service reform. But, in many respects, Republican policy was unsound. Divisions within the party widened. In 1884, a reformer from the North led the Democrats to victory.

For twelve years Cleveland remained a central figure on the political stage. Although imbued with liberal ideas, he was also sympathetic with the point of view of business. In his first administration, he advocated a lower tariff to eliminate surplus revenues, stopped short pension abuses, studied carefully the wave of violence and social unrest of 1886, and approved a regulation of railroads by a federal Interstate Commerce Commission. But he flatly refused to ally himself with the Western farmers who, as their financial distress increased, clamored for the expansion of the currency by the free coinage of silver. The times were chaotic. Cleveland was swept from power in 1888 by the Republican, Harrison. The Republicans promptly revised the tariff to increase protection, widened the scope of the pension law, and voted to spend the national surplus on the improvement of rivers and harbours. They sought to win Western support with the Sherman Silver Purchase Act and the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. They abandoned a "Force Bill" directed against Southern disenfranchisement of the negro. Nevertheless, a popular revolt overthrew Harrison. Cleveland returned to power.

Cleveland's second administration marked a

pause on the eve of a great battle. The Panic of 1893 and the labor troubles which followed disarranged political plans. Cleveland antagonized the West by forcing the repeal of the Sherman Silver Act to meet the necessities of the treasury. He returned to tariff reform only to receive from his own party a bill so full of protectionist jobbery that in disgust he allowed it to become a law without his signature. He angered labor by sending federal troops to Chicago to protect the mails in the Pullman strike. But amid all the troubles that beset his administration he held firm to his refusal to cheapen American currency by permitting the free coinage of silver. His reward came in 1896 when he was repudiated by his own party and ridiculed by Republicans.

In that year the forces of the West which had been uniting in the Populist party were captured for the Democratic party by the maneuvers of William Jennings Bryan. The protest of the West was genuine. The farmers perceived real evils; but they chose a remedy which most business men and most men of education believed to be wrong. The Republican party, working under the masterly direction of Mark Hanna, convinced the great middle class of small investors, that free

silver was an economic fallacy and held before laborers the vision of a "full dinner pail." McKinley was elected. The problem of a readjustment of political methods went over to the Twentieth Century for solution.

Behind President McKinley "Big Business" controlled the national administration. Hanna in the Senate and Reed in the House drew the reins of power into their hands. In short order, the Dingley tariff was rushed through both houses. Protectionism flowered with favors for special interests. After the war with Spain, the Gold Standard Act forever laid to rest the turbulent spirit of free silver and bimetallism. At the end of his administration McKinley faced Bryan in a campaign which centered in questions of foreign policy. Should the United States assume the burdens and responsibilities of a colonial empire?

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IN the first decade of the Twentieth Century, the sectional movements which had agitated American politics since the Civil War merged into a nationwide demand that the public interest be served and that the particular desires of individuals, classes, or sections be subordinated to the welfare of the whole. America had achieved an economic and social integration never known before. Business and politics had drawn together in close alliance. Party machines had concentrated political power. Nevertheless, the movements of protest did not die; they came to fruition. The remonstrances of farmers and laborers which had created the Populist party grew into the wider Progressive movement. Roosevelt sensed the trend of public opinion and brought his administration into harmony with it. He undertook to regulate "Big Business" and gave a vitality to

the Sherman Anti-Trust Law that few had believed possible. He took the same strong middle ground in his management of labor. Reclamation of waste lands and conservation of national resources were obviously for the benefit of all and an obligation of the present to future generations.

Roosevelt's successor continued to maintain the public interest as superior to all others, but Taft, like Cleveland before him, was harassed by strife within his party. The contest between the Congressional insurgents and conservative Republicans became bitter with the overthrow of Speaker Cannon's rule over the House of Representatives. Both sides prepared to fight for control of the party convention in 1912. The conservatives won. Progressives bolted the party, and the Democrats had their opportunity. Wilson, nominated because of his liberal tendencies, was elected.

During the first two years of Wilson's administration a spirit of liberalism prevailed. The movement of protest bore fruit in a series of reform laws that had never been equalled in the history of the nation. The World War deflected public attention to foreign affairs, but the American people followed their President with extraordinary unanimity into war, enlarging their devotion to the

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public interest into determination to "make the world safe for democracy." The movement for reform in America grew into a movement for international reform. Then came the Armistice, the Treaty of Versailles, the quarrel between the President and the Senate, bitterness and disillusionment. The significance of all that has happened, only the future can make clear.

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CHAPTER XX

THE NEW RÔLE AS A WORLD POWER

THE end of the War of 1812 was a definite turning point for the American people. Before the Treaty of Ghent they had been much concerned with the affairs of Europe. They had won their independence from the British Empire, but for seventeen years after the Peace of 1783 they were bound to France by the alliance with which they had secured French assistance in the Revolution. As President, Washington chose to hold the United States from participation in the cause of Revolutionary France. The French Alliance was eventually thrown off with the consent of Napoleon, but not until American opinion had been divided and American political parties separated on the issue of foreign sympathies. Finally, the United States was drawn into the European wars that raged about Napoleon. It emerged from its second contest with Great Britain with a fighting record

that was not entirely glorious, but with its territory intact and its economic as well as its political independence assured. After 1815 Americans gave little heed to Europe and concentrated their energies upon building a great nation in a rich continent. The world was formally notified of their intention to guard the western world against further European encroachment and to keep out of European affairs. The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 set up the standard of American isolation.

For three-quarters of a century the citizens of the United States were engrossed in their own national affairs. Expansion to the Pacific, war to preserve the Union, and creation of an industrial civilization in turn demanded the complete attention and the best energy of a vigorous and growing people. Foreign affairs, usually contingent upon national growth, crowded occasionally into the minds of the voters, but it was not until the war with Spain in 1898 that the average citizen ever thought of America in terms of its world relationships or pondered the problems that grow out of membership in the society of nations. Yet before this contest, incidents had occurred which pointed to the later development.

In the Fifties an American naval commander

had opened the ports of Japan. Twenty years after, the United States had taken an interest in the natives of the South Sea Islands and established a claim to the harbor of Pago Pago in Samoa. By the Nineties, American missionary and commercial enterprise in Hawaii had so matured that the foreigners were able to throw off native rule. In the same years, President Cleveland had insisted that the United States must participate in the settlement of a boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. When he was rebuffed, he offered the alternative of war. To an astonished world, the Monroe Doctrine, sometimes forgotten by Americans themselves in the press of domestic affairs, was reasserted with a vigor that made it the basic determinant in relationships of the western hemisphere. Then came the war with Spain.

The result for the United States of a hundred days of fighting was a chain of possessions reaching from Porto Rico to the Philippines. The United States gradually became conscious of the strategic value of Hawaii, annexed in 1898, as a naval base for the protection of the new imperial domain. A large group of American citizens believed that the acquisitions should not be retained for they held

that imperialism is incompatible with democracy. But the imperialists won the election of 1900. To Roosevelt fell the task of consolidating the empire and planning for its defence. He promptly advocated and secured a stronger navy and made possible the construction and control of the Panama canal, now for the United States more than ever a strategic necessity. Whether or not some Americans decried the trend of the times, the United States had become possessed of an empire. It was in fact a world power with positive interests beyond its own territorial confines. Rising from the new situation were three developments: the American policy in the Caribbean Sea, the peculiar concern of the United States in Asiatic affairs, and the relationship of the United States to world peace conferences at The Hague.

After the United States had acquired possessions in the Caribbean, other states in that region must so order their relations with foreign powers that none would have excuse to land soldiers for the protection of national interests. European or Asiatic troops in the West Indies or Central America might result in the establishment of a base near the Panama canal and jeopardize the whole American plan of defence. This new inter-

pretation of the Monroe Doctrine made the United States policeman of the Caribbean. Pan-Americanism, which had been the professed aim of the United States for relations within the western hemisphere, lost some of its force as a result of distrust. Many Hispanic-Americans saw in it all only Yankee determination to dominate the western continents.

At the opening of the Twentieth Century, China seemed to be on the verge of dissolution and the nations of the world hovering over it like a flock of vultures. American people had long been interested in the work of their Christian missionaries to China. With the acquisition of the Philippines, the American government also perceived that it had an interest in the welfare of the Celestial Empire. Between the rival powers of Europe, the United States interposed the policy of the "open door" backed by American cooperation in the international expeditionary force to punish offenders in the Boxer uprising. China was not dismembered. An accord has grown between the governments at Washington and Peking.

The third development in American relations with the world was the American acceptance of a

place in the peace conferences at The Hague. The United States became a party to many international commitments to the cause of peaceful co-operation among the peoples of the world. It was obvious to careful observers that the traditional American policy of isolation had been modified materially by the Caribbean and Asiatic policies and by the presence of American representatives at The Hague.

The glare of the European conflagration in 1914 sharply outlined the transformation in the situation of the United States. After Germany invaded Belgium, two years and a half elapsed before the American people realized that civilization was at stake. Germany's use of submarine warfare roused the United States to feel that its own interests were vitally threatened. Then, with an idealism and unity of purpose never surpassed in any of its other wars, America threw itself into a struggle for international reform. The threat of German militarism was destroyed. When the conflict was over, however, the old American instinct of isolation reasserted itself. The United States sent a chill of fear to the hearts of many European liberals by turning its back on the League of Nations. Had the "war to end war"

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been fought in vain? But the American people can no longer think of isolation in terms of the Nineteenth Century. The United States has interests and commitments over the world, and Americans cannot, if they would, refuse to think in terms of world relationships. The past history of America has been the story of development of national strength surpassing any in the world. The history of the future will be the chronicle of the use of that strength for good or evil on the earth.

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CHAPTER XXI

OUR NEIGHBORS

It is a curious fact that the American people, during most of their history, have been peculiarly ignorant of the affairs of their nearest neighbors. The citizen of the United States has usually been too much engrossed in the problems of his own country to pay much attention to Canada or Hispanic America. It is true that many Americans have hoped that Canada might one day become a part of the Union. They were quick to assume that Canadians of the Nineteenth Century chafed under the British yoke as Americans of the Eighteenth had done. For this reason, they generally misunderstood the rebellion of 1837. During the early years of the Twentieth Century, the American people finally gave up the thought of annexation. The formal end of this phase of "Manifest Destiny" came when Mr. Harding, the first American president to visit Canada,

announced to the citizens of British Columbia that the United States did not look forward to the ultimate incorporation of the Canadian dominion into its own national territory. But with this persistent desire for annexation, Americans have never actively interested themselves in Canadian affairs and are quite ignorant of Canadian history.

Beginning at the time of the American Revolution, a civilization very like that of the United States has developed north of the international boundary. Yet it has significant differences. Nowhere in America can be found a culture similar to that of the French Canadians. English speaking Canadians show a marked British influence. During the century and a half of their history, they have spread their settlements over a vast area stretching from ocean to ocean. With the exception of Newfoundland, they have united their local governments into a closely knit federation. They have developed a national sentiment, not incompatible with loyalty to the British Crown, which has come to definite expression as a result of the World War. The appearance of a Canadian representative at Washington is indicative that the United States must reckon with a new power on the north.

South of the Rio Grande the situation is very different. Spain and Portugal, in one instance, have left their stamp on Central and South America. In most cases, the native Indians were not driven off, as in the English settlements to the north, but were held as a subject race. Latin-American populations, consequently, show a three-fold character: a small group descended from pure European stock, a larger number of Indian blood, and those who derive their heritage from both races. By this population a civilization has been built up which contrasts noticeably with the American and which the American citizen has seldom fully understood.

Yet toward its southern neighbors the United States has assumed from the beginning an attitude of particular concern. The Monroe Doctrine declared to the world that the United States considered itself the guardian of its fellow republics against encroachment by foreign powers. Hispanic America enjoyed the protection but never forgot that the self-appointed guardian considered also that its own interests were paramount. In spite of this protection and in spite of a common language and tradition, Spanish America has broken into jagged fragments that have defied the

efforts of its great leaders to bring them together into a confederation. All too frequently the governments of Latin-American states, though republican in form, have been but a succession of military dictators. Out of a century of political confusion four states, Argentine, Chile, Brazil, and Mexico, have risen to predominance and to world importance. Notwithstanding hostile interpretations of American motives, Pan-Americanism is an ideal that seeks for greater co-operation and better understanding not only among the southern republics but between them and the American nation to the north.

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- The question of a Canadian Navy
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- The Spanish-American war
- The Joint High Commission, 1898
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- Alien labor laws
- The neutrality of the Great Lakes
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- The Alaskan boundary
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- The northeastern fisheries question
- The decision by the Hague Court, 1909
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- Final recognition of Carranza

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CHAPTER XXII

CHRONOLOGY

The Period of Discovery

- 1000 Vinland discovered by Leif Ericsson.
- 1275 Marco Polo in China.
- 1486-1487 Dias' voyage to the Cape of Good Hope; Bartholomew Columbus with him.
- 1492 Martin Behaim's Globe.
Columbus' patent (April), first voyage from Palos (August), landfall at Watling Island (October 12), Cuba (October 28), Hayti (December 5).
- 1497 Cabots discover the mainland of North America.
DaGama reaches India from Portugal.
- 1507 On Waldseemüller's suggestion name "America," in honor of Amerigo Vespucci, comes into use.
- 1513 Ponce de Leon's voyage along Florida coast (March-May).
Balboa crosses the Isthmus of Darien and discovers the Pacific.
- 1519 Magellan sails from Spain (September 20).
Cortés enters Mexico (November 8).

- 1521 Ponce de Leon sails to colonize Florida,
and is killed.
Magellan killed in the Philippines.
Cortés captures Tenochtitlán (Mexico
City).
- 1522 Magellan's one remaining ship rounds the
Cape of Good Hope (April), and
arrives at San Lucar (September 7).
- 1523 Verrazano for France sails along coast of
North America.
- 1527 Pizarro reaches the coast of Peru.
- 1528 Narváez in Florida; dies at Galveston
Island; Cabeza de Vaca takes command.
- 1534 Cartier's first voyage.
- 1539-1542 The De Soto expedition across the south-
eastern part of the present United
States.
- 1541 Coronado searches in Kansas for Quivira
(June).
- 1562-1563 John Hawkins's first voyage with slaves
to America; return cargo confiscated in
Spain.
- 1564 René de Laudonnière plants a French
settlement (June).
Fort Caroline on St. John's River,
Florida.
- 1565 Menendez builds a fort at St. Augustine,
Florida (September 6).
French at Fort Caroline massacred by
Menendez (September 19).
- 1566 Spain protests against Hawkins's voy-
ages.
- 1567 DeGourgues massacres the Spanish garri-

- son at St. Mateo avenging the Fort Caroline men.
- 1568 Hawkins fights his way out of the Vera Cruz harbor (September 24).
- 1576 Martin Frobisher sails for Northwest Passage.
- 1577-1580 Francis Drake's voyage around world.
- 1578 Elizabeth's patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert.
- 1583 Gilbert's voyage to Newfoundland; Gilbert lost.
- 1584 Raleigh succeeds to Gilbert's charter.
- 1585 Richard Grenville plants Raleigh's colony at Roanoke.
- 1586 Drake destroys St. Augustine and takes off the Roanoke colony.
- 1587 Raleigh's second Roanoke colony of which no trace found in 1590.
- 1588 Defeat of the Spanish Armada (July 20).
- 1603 Champlain's first voyage up the St. Lawrence to Hochelaga.
- 1604-1605 Champlain and De Monts explore the coast as far south as Cape Cod.

The Period of Colonization

- 1606 Charter of London and Plymouth companies.
- 1607 Settlement of Jamestown.
French colony at Port Royal abandoned.
Establishment of Popham's colony at mouth of the Kennebec.
Zuñiga, Spanish ambassador in London, complains of English settlements.

- 1607-1608 Separatists from Scrooby, England, move to Amsterdam.
- 1608 Quebec settled by Champlain.
- 1609 Henry Hudson enters Delaware Bay and New York harbor and sails up the Hudson River.
- 1612 John Rolfe starts the cultivation of tobacco.
- 1614-1616 John Smith explores and maps New England coast.
- 1620 Charter for the Council of New England. Settlement of Plymouth.
- 1621 Dutch West India Company chartered.
- 1623 First seigneurial grant in New France.
- 1624 Charter of Virginia Company withdrawn.
- 1629 Massachusetts Bay Company charter.
- 1630 Massachusetts Bay colony established. Rensselaerwyck settled.
- 1632 Charter for Maryland granted second Lord Baltimore.
- 1634 Maryland settled at St. Mary's (March 27).
- 1634-1636 Settlement of Connecticut.
- 1635-1636 Roger Williams driven out of Massachusetts and settles Providence.
- 1637 Pequot War.
- 1638 Hartford Fundamental Orders. New Haven colony established.
- 1639 Saybrook settled.
- 1643 New England Confederation or United Colonies of New England established.
- 1649 Charles I beheaded.
- 1660 Restoration of Charles II.

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- First Navigation Act, aimed at Dutch carrying trade.
- 1662 Connecticut charter granted.
- 1663 The Carolinas chartered.
Rhode Island Charter granted.
Staple Act — second Navigation Act: imports for colonies must be trans- shipped from England.
- 1664 New York surrendered by Dutch to the English.
New Jersey granted to Berkeley and Carteret by Duke of York.
- 1669-1670 La Salle's expedition to the Ohio.
- 1672 Third Navigation Act: Plantation Duty Act.
- 1673 Joliet and Marquette go down Mississippi from mouth of Wisconsin to mouth of Arkansas.
- 1675-1676 King Philip's War.
- 1676 Bacon's rebellion.
- 1681 Penn gets charter from the Crown for Pennsylvania.
- 1682 La Salle reaches the mouth of the Mississippi.
- 1684 Massachusetts charter forfeited.
- 1686 Andros arrives in Boston as governor general of New England.
- 1688 New York and New Jersey united with Dominion of New England.
The Revolution of 1688 in England.
- 1689 Andros government overthrown in New England.
Leisler's rebellion in New York (June).

- 1689-1697 King William's War.
- 1690 Phips takes Port Royal (May).
Phips before Quebec (October).
- 1692 Salem witchcraft craze.
- 1696 Summarizing Navigation Act.
- 1697 Peace of Ryswick.
- 1701 Detroit founded by Cadillac.
- 1702 The Jerseys united; Crown takes over
jurisdiction.
- 1702-1713 Queen Anne's War (Spanish Succession).
- 1704 Deerfield raided by Indians and French.
- 1710 English and Colonial force from Boston
captures Port Royal, which becomes
Annapolis.
- 1713 Treaty of Utrecht.
- 1718 San Antonio, Texas, founded by Spanish.
New Orleans founded by Bienville.
- 1720 End of Law's Mississippi Bubble.
- 1729 The Carolinas become royal colonies.
- 1732 Georgia granted to Oglethorpe.
- 1733 Molasses Act.
- 1739-1748 King George's War (Austrian Succession).
- 1739-1743 Great Awakening.
- 1745 Louisbourg surrenders after seven weeks'
siege (June 17).
- 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
- 1749 Halifax founded.
First Ohio Company chartered—Vir-
ginians and London merchants.
- 1754 French build Fort Duquesne (April).
Washington defeats Jumonville.
Albany Congress (June); Franklin's *Plan
of Union*.
Battle of Great Meadows (July 3).

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- 1754-1763 French and Indian War.
1755 Braddock's defeat on the Monongahela (July 9).
Deportation of Acadians (October-December).
1756 Montcalm sent out to command French troops.
Montcalm captures Oswego (August).
1757 Pitt becomes Secretary of State for War (June).
Montcalm takes Fort William Henry (August).
1758 Montcalm defeats English under Abercromby at Lake George (July).
Louisbourg taken (July).
Fort Duquesne captured (November).
1759 Fall of Quebec after three months' siege (September).
1760 Montreal surrenders (September 8).
1761 James Otis attacks writs of assistance before Massachusetts Supreme Court (February).
Spain enters the war.
1762 Louisiana secretly transferred to Spain by France (November 3).
1762-1765 Pontiac's conspiracy.
1763 Treaty of Paris (February 10).
Grenville becomes premier (April).

The Period of the Revolution

- 1764 Sugar Act.
Colonies forbidden to issue more paper money.

- 1765 Stamp Act (March 22).
Patrick Henry's Resolutions in Virginia
(May 30).
Stamp Act Congress (October).
- 1766 Declaratory Act (March 7).
Stamp Act repealed (March 18).
- 1767 Townshend Acts, taxing paints, paper,
glass, tea.
- 1767-1768 Non-importation agreements.
- 1768 Troops in Boston (September).
- 1770 Boston Massacre (March 5).
Lord North's ministry.
Withdrawal of Townshend duties except
on tea (April).
James Robertson settles in Tennessee at
Watauga.
- 1771 Regulators defeated at Alamance, North
Carolina, by Governor Tryon's troops
(May).
- 1772 *Gaspee* destroyed in Narragansett Bay
(June 9).
Samuel Adams and committees of cor-
respondence.
- 1773 Boston Tea Party (December 16).
- 1774 Coercive Acts (Intolerable Acts).
Quebec Act for government of Canada.
First Continental Congress (September 5).
Settlement of Harrodsburg, Kentucky.
- 1775 Battle of Lexington (April 19).
Second Continental Congress meets
(May 10).
Battle of Bunker Hill (June 17).
American Invasion of Canada.

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- 1776 Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*.
 Evacuation of Boston (March 17).
 Congress adopts the Declaration of Independence (July 4).
 Battle of Long Island (August 27).
 Fall of Fort Washington (November 16).
 Washington's retreat across New Jersey (November 20–December 5).
 Battle of Trenton (December 26).
- 1777 Battle of Princeton (January 3).
 Burgoyne's invasion from Canada.
 Brandywine (September 11).
 Philadelphia taken by British (September 26).
 Battle of Germantown (October 4).
 Burgoyne's surrender (October 17).
- 1777–1778 Winter at Valley Forge.
- 1778 Treaty with France (February 6).
 Crown commission sent to America; tea tax repealed; Declaratory Act repealed; Massachusetts charter restored (February 17).
 Battle of Monmouth (June 28).
 Wyoming Valley Massacre (July).
- 1779 George Rogers Clark takes Vincennes (February).
 Spain joins France against Great Britain (April).
 Paul Jones takes the *Serapis* (September 23).
- 1782 Officers at Newburg petition Congress for pay.
- 1783 Treaty of Peace.

The Critical Period

- 1785 Land Ordinance for survey and sale of public lands.
- 1786 Shays Rebellion (Ends 1787).
Annapolis Convention.
- 1787 Constitutional Convention meets (May 14).
North West Ordinance passed (July 13).
Convention adopts the Constitution (September 17).
- 1788 Ratification of the Constitution.
Separatist movement in the Southwest.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, VIRGINIA, FIRST ADMINISTRATION, 1789-1793.

Vice-president — John Adams.

Election of 1788:

Washington	69	Unanimous
Adams	34	
Jay	9	
Harrison	6	
Rutledge	6	
Hancock	4	
Clinton	2	
Milton	2	
Armstrong	1	
Telfair	1	
Lincoln	1	

- 1789 Organization of government.
The Judiciary Act.

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- Acceptance of Constitution by North Carolina.
Opening of first American factory.
1790 Hamilton's financial measures (completed 1791).
Acceptance of Constitution by Rhode Island.
The first census.
1791 Vermont admitted to the Union.
First ten amendments to the Constitution proclaimed in force.
1792 Kentucky admitted to the Union.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, SECOND ADMINISTRATION, 1793-1797.

- Vice-president — John Adams.
Election of 1792:
Washington 132 Unanimous
Adams 77
Clinton 50
Jefferson 4
Burr 1
1793 Genet mission.
Declaration of neutrality.
Invention of cotton gin.
Retirement of Jefferson from the cabinet.
1794 Battle of Fallen Timbers.
Whiskey Rebellion.
1795 Retirement of Hamilton from the cabinet.
Treaty of San Lorenzo.
Jay Treaty.
1796 Tennessee admitted to the Union.

Washington's Farewell Address to the
Nation.

JOHN ADAMS, MASSACHUSETTS, 1797-1801.

Vice-president — Thomas Jefferson.

Election of 1796:

Adams (Federalist)	71
Jefferson (Democratic-Republican)	68
Pinckney (Federalist)	59
Burr (Democratic-Republican)	30
Adams, S.	15
Ellsworth	11
Clinton	7
Jay	5
Iredell	3
Washington	2
Johnson	2
Henry	2
Pinckney	1

1797 XYZ affair with France.

1798 Naval war with France. Concluded
1800.

Alien and Sedition Acts.

Virginia and Kentucky resolutions.

1799 Death of Washington.

American *Constellation* takes the French
L'Insurgente.

1800 The convention with France.

Hamilton breaks with Adams.

Treaty of San Ildefonso.

1801 John Marshall becomes Chief Justice of
Supreme Court.

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THOMAS JEFFERSON, VIRGINIA, FIRST ADMINISTRATION, 1801-1805.

Vice-President — Aaron Burr

Election of 1800:

	Jefferson (Democratic-Republican)	73
	Burr (Democratic-Republican)	73
	Adams (Federalist)	65
	Pinckney (Federalist)	64
	John Jay	1
1801-1805	War with the Barbary pirates.	
1802	Admission of Ohio to the Union.	
1803	Marbury versus Madison.	
	Purchase of Louisiana.	
1804	The impeachment of Justice Chase.	
	The Essex Junto in New England.	
	Twelfth amendment proclaimed.	
	Burr kills Hamilton in a duel.	
1804-1806	Lewis and Clark expedition.	
1805-1806	Pike exploring expedition.	

THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECOND ADMINISTRATION, 1805-1809.

Vice-president — George Clinton.

Election of 1804:

	Jefferson (Democratic-Republican)	162
	Pinckney (Federalist)	14
1805-1807	<i>Essex</i> case.	
1806-1807	Burr's conspiracy.	
1807	Successful test of Fulton's <i>Clermont</i> on Hudson.	

- 1806 Fox's blockade (April 8).
Berlin Decree (November 21).
Non-importation Act (November 25).
- 1807 First Order in Council (January 7).
Chesapeake-Leopard affair (June 22).
Second Order in Council (November 1).
Milan Decree (December 17).
Embargo (December 21).
- 1808 Slave trade prohibited (Act of 1807).
Bayonne decree.
- 1809 Repeal of Embargo and passage of Non-intercourse Act.

JAMES MADISON, VIRGINIA, FIRST ADMINISTRATION,
1809-1813.

Vice-president — George Clinton.

Election of 1809:

Madison (Democratic-Republican)	122
Clinton (Democratic-Republican)	6
Pinckney (Federalist)	47

- 1810 Macon Bill No. 2.
Madison's proclamation putting West Florida under the jurisdiction of the United States.
Madison's proclamation that French edicts were withdrawn (November 2).
Napoleon's continued seizure of American vessels in French ports.
- 1811 Expiration of charter of first National Bank.
Introduction of steamboat to Mississippi river trade.

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- President-Little Belt* affair (May 16).
Battle of Tippecanoe (November 7).
1812 Admission of Louisiana to the Union.
Announcement of intention to repeal
British orders in council (June 7).
War declared on Great Britain (June 18).

JAMES MADISON, SECOND ADMINISTRATION, 1813-1817.

- Vice-president — Elbridge Gerry.
Election of 1812:
Madison (Democratic-Republican) 128
Clinton (Democratic-Republican) 89
1812-1815 War of 1812.
1812 Hull's campaign against Fort Malden
ends in surrender at Detroit (August).
Harrison's campaign against Fort Mal-
den.
1813 War in West.
Harrison defeated at Raisin river (Janu-
ary 22).
Perry's victory on Lake Erie (September
10).
British defeated at Thames river (Octo-
ber 5).
Capture of Mobile bay.
War in East.
Wilkinson's campaign against Canada by
way of St. Lawrence fails.
1814 War in East.
Battle of Lundy's Lane — end of inva-
sion of Canada by way of Niagara
(July 25).

Battle of Plattsburg — halting of British invasion of New York (September 11).

War in South.

Capture of Washington (August 24).

Abandonment of attack on Baltimore (September 14).

War in West.

Battle of Horseshoe Bend (March 29).

Treaty of peace (December 24).

1815 Adjournment of Hartford Convention (January 5).

Battle of New Orleans (January 8).

1816 Incorporation of Second National Bank.
Tariff of 1816.

Indiana admitted to the Union.

1817 Veto of Bonus Bill.

JAMES MONROE, VIRGINIA, FIRST ADMINISTRATION,
1817-1821.

Vice-president — D. D. Tompkins.

Election of 1816:

Monroe (Democratic-Republican) 183

King (Federalist) 34

1817 Mississippi admitted to the Union.

National Road to Ohio finished.

1818 Trouble with Seminole Indians in Florida.
Establishment of 49th parallel as boundary between United States and Canada.

Beginning of joint occupation of Oregon.

Illinois admitted to the Union.

1819 Purchase of Florida.

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- McCulloch versus Maryland. The Dartmouth College case.
Alabama admitted to the Union.
1820 Act regarding sales of public land fixing price of \$1.25 per acre.
Missouri Compromise.
Maine admitted to the Union.

JAMES MONROE, SECOND ADMINISTRATION, 1821-1825.

- Vice-president — D. D. Tompkins.
Election of 1820:
Monroe (Democratic-Republican) 231
Adams (Democratic-Republican) 1
1821 Missouri admitted to the Union.
1823 Monroe Doctrine.
1824 Tariff of 1824.
Gibbons versus Ogden.
Defeat of "King Caucus."

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, MASSACHUSETTS, 1825-1829.

- Vice-president — John C. Calhoun.
Election of 1824:
Jackson 99 152,901
Adams 84 114,023
Crawford 41 46,979
Clay 37 47,217
1825 Election of Adams by House of Representatives.
Completion of the Erie Canal.
1826 Death of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson (Both on July 4).
1827 Woolens tariff bill.

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|---|---|
| 1828 | Tariff of Abominations.
South Carolina's <i>Exposition</i> .
Breaking of ground for the B. and O.
railroad. |
| ANDREW JACKSON, TENNESSEE, FIRST ADMINISTRATION, 1829-1833. | |
| | Vice-president — John C. Calhoun.
Election of 1828:
Jackson (Anti-Administration) 178 647,276
Adams (Administration)83 508,064 |
| 1829 | Removal of office holders.
Break between Calhoun and Jackson. |
| 1830 | Webster-Hayne Debate (January 21
26).
Jackson's "Union" toast (April 13).
Veto of Maysville road bill. |
| 1831 | <i>Liberator</i> founded by Garrison.
First national nominating convention in
United States, Anti-Masonic party. |
| 1832 | First national convention of Democratic
party adopts two-thirds rule (May
22).
Veto by Jackson of bill to recharter Na-
tional Bank (July 10).
Tariff of 1832 (July 14).
Adoption of Ordinance of Nullification by
South Carolina convention (November
24).
Jackson's nullification proclamation (De-
cember 10). |
| 1833 | Compromise of 1833 (March 3). |

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ANDREW JACKSON, SECOND ADMINISTRATION, 1833-1837.

Vice-president — Martin Van Buren.

Election of 1832:

Jackson (Democratic)	219	687,502
Clay (National Republi- can)	49	530,189
Floyd	11	
Wirt (Anti-Masonic)	7	

1832-1835 Removal of Southern Indians to Indian Territory.

1833 Removal of deposits.

1834 Jackson censured by Senate.

National debt completely paid off.

Invention of reaper by McCormick.

1835-1836 Texas revolution.

1836 Passage of act for distribution of surplus.

Jackson's specie circular.

Passage of "Gag Rule" by House of Representatives.

Michigan and Arkansas admitted to the Union.

MARTIN VAN BUREN, NEW YORK, 1837-1841.

Vice-president — Richard M. Johnson.

Election of 1836:

Van Buren (Democratic)	170	762,978
Harrison (Whig)	73	544,921
White (Whig)	26	145,396
Webster (Whig)	14	41,287
Mangum (Whig)	11	

1837 Panic of 1837.

- 1840 Adoption of subtreasury system.
Cunard Line puts on regular steam packets New York to Liverpool.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, OHIO, MARCH 4, 1841—
APRIL 4, 1841.

JOHN TYLER, VIRGINIA, APRIL 4, 1841–1845.

Election of 1840:

Harrison (Whig) 234 1,275,016

Van Buren (Democrat) 60 1,129,102

- 1841 Death of President Harrison (April 4).
Struggle between Tyler and the Whig leaders.

Frustration of the Whig plans.

- 1842 Tariff of 1842.

Webster-Ashburton Treaty.

- 1843 Beginning of the great migration to Oregon.

- 1844 Caravan of 1,000 persons starts for Oregon.

Demonstration of telegraph by Morse.

First process for vulcanizing rubber patented by Goodyear.

Calhoun appointed Secretary of State

- 1845 Annexation of Texas.

Texas and Florida admitted to the Union.

Government aid to steam ocean navigation.

JAMES K. POLK, TENNESSEE, 1845–1849.

Vice-president — George M. Dallas.

Election of 1844:

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	Polk (Democrat)	170	1,337,243
	Clay (Whig)	105	1,299,062
	Birney (Liberty)		62,300
1845	Frémont's reports of his exploring expeditions in the Rocky Mountains.		
1845-1847	Famine in Ireland and climax of Irish emigration to America.		
1846	Abrogation of British corn laws.		
	Acquisition of Oregon (July 17).		
	Iowa admitted to the Union.		
1846	Declaration of war against Mexico (May 12).		
1846-1848	War with Mexico.		
1846	Conquest of California.		
	General Taylor reaches Victoria, point of farthest advance (December 29).		
	Wilmot Proviso introduced into Congress.		
1847	Battle of Buena Vista (February 23).		
	General Scott in possession of Mexico City (September 14).		
1848	Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (February 2).		
	Discovery of gold in California.		
	Wisconsin admitted to the Union.		
	First Mormon settlement at Salt Lake City.		

ZACHARY TAYLOR, LOUISIANA, MARCH 4, 1849-
JULY 9, 1850.

MILLARD FILLMORE, NEW YORK, JULY 9, 1850-1853.

Election of 1848:

Taylor (Whig)	163	1,360,099
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	Cass (Democrat)	127	1,220,544
	Van Buren (Free Soil)		291,263
1849	Suppression of Revolution of 1848 in Germany and emigration of political exiles to America.		
	Gold rush to California.		
1850	Death of Calhoun.		
	Death of President Taylor.		
	Compromise of 1850.		
	California admitted to the Union.		
	Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.		
1851	Enforcement of Fugitive Slave Law stirs anti-slavery element in North.		
1852	<i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> .		
	Death of Clay.		
	Death of Webster.		
	Origin of "Knowing-Nothing" party.		

FRANKLIN PIERCE, NEW HAMPSHIRE, 1853-1857.

	Vice-president — William R. King.		
	Election of 1852:		
	· Pierce (Democrat)	254	1,601,474
	Scott (Whig)	42	1,386,580
1853	Completion of all-rail route from Chicago to the Atlantic coast.		
	Perry opens the ports of Japan.		
	Gadsden Purchase.		
1854	Kansas-Nebraska Act.		
	Founding of Republican party.		
	Ostend Manifesto.		
1854-1858	Struggle for Kansas.		
1856	Passing of Whig party.		

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JAMES BUCHANAN, PENNSYLVANIA, 1857-1861.

Vice-president — John C. Breckenridge.

Election of 1856:

Buchanan (Democrat) 174 1,838,169

Fremont (Republican) 114 1,341,264

Fillmore (Know-Noth-
ing) 8 874,534

1857 Panic of 1857.

Filibustering in Nicaragua.

Dred Scott decision.

1858 Minnesota admitted to the Union.

Lincoln-Douglas debates.

1859 Oregon admitted into the Union.

First oil well, Venango County, Pennsylv-
ania.

Southern commercial convention, Vicks-
burg.

John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry.

1860 Lincoln's Cooper Union Speech.

Secession of South Carolina.

Failure of the Crittenden Compromise.

1861 Kansas admitted to the Union.

Organization of the Confederate States
of America.

Jefferson Davis elected president of the
Confederacy.

Morrill tariff.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, ILLINOIS, FIRST ADMINISTRATION,
1861-1865.

Vice-president — Hannibal Hamlin.

Election of 1860:

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	Lincoln (Republican)	180	1,866,452
	Douglas (Democrat, Northern)	12	1,376,957
	Breckenridge (Democrat, Southern)	72	849,781
	Bell (Constitutional Union)	39	588,879
1861	Attack on Sumter (April 12).		
	Declaration of blockade (April 19).		
	Battle of Bull Run (July 21).		
	<i>Trent</i> affair (November 8).		
1862	Surrender of Fort Donelson (February 16).		
	Battle of <i>Monitor</i> and <i>Merrimac</i> (March 9).		
	Battle of Shiloh (April 6-7).		
	Capture of New Orleans (April 25).		
	Homestead Act (May 10).		
	Seven Days' Battles (June 26-July 1).		
	Second Bull Run (August 29).		
	Battle of Antietam (September 17).		
	Battle of Fredericksburg (December 13).		
1863	Emancipation Proclamation (January 1).		
	National Bank Act (February 25).		
	Battle of Chancellorsville (May 2-4).		
	West Virginia admitted to the Union (June 19).		
	Battle of Gettysburg (July 1-3).		
	Surrender of Vicksburg (July 4).		
	Draft riots in New York (July 13-16).		
	Battle of Chickamauga (September 19- 20).		
	Gettysburg Address (November 19).		

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- Battle of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge (November 23-25).
 1864 Battles in the Wilderness (May 5-21).
 Battle of Cold Harbor (June 3).
Kearsarge and Alabama (June 19).
 Capture of Mobile bay (August 5).
 Capture of Atlanta (September 3).
 Battle of Nashville (December 15-16).
 Sherman's capture of Savannah (December 20).
 Nevada admitted to the Union.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, SECOND ADMINISTRATION,
 MARCH 4, 1865-APRIL 15, 1865.

ANDREW JOHNSON, TENNESSEE, APRIL 15, 1865-1869.

				Soldier vote
	Election of 1864:			
	Lincoln	212	2,213,665	116,887
	(Republican)			
	McClellan	21	1,802,237	33,748
	(Democrat)			
1865	Creation of the Freedmen's Bureau (March 3).			
	Surrender of Lee (April 9).			
	Assassination of Lincoln (April 14).			
	Amnesty proclamation (May 29).			
	Thirteenth amendment to Constitution proclaimed (December 18).			
	Congress refuses to receive Senators and Representatives from South (Decem- ber).			
1866	Laying of Atlantic cable.			

Johnson vetoes Freedmen's Bureau Bill
(February 19).

Civil Rights Act passed over Johnson's
veto (April 6).

Fourteenth Amendment sent to states
for ratification (June 13).

Victory of Radical Republicans in Con-
gressional elections (September, Octo-
ber, November).

1867 Organization of Ku Klux Klan.
Nebraska admitted to the Union (March
1).

Radical Reconstruction Act (March 2).

Tenure of Office Act (March 2).

Overthrow of Maximilian in Mexico.

Purchase of Alaska.

1868 Beginning of negro rule.
President Johnson impeached (February
24).

Johnson acquitted (May 26).

Fourteenth Amendment proclaimed
(July 28).

ULYSSES S. GRANT, ILLINOIS, FIRST ADMINISTRATION,
1869-1873.

Vice-president — Schuyler Colfax.

Election of 1868:

Grant (Republican) 214 3,012,833

Seymour (Democrat) 80 2,703,249

1869 Completion of Union Pacific Railroad.

"Black Friday" scandal (September 24).

Knights of Labor founded.

Formal disbanding of Ku Klux Klan.

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- 1870 Failure of San Domingo Treaty.
Fifteenth Amendment (Negro Suffrage).
Proposed 1869.
First Force Act.
Organization of Standard Oil Company.
Franco-Prussian War.
- 1871 Indian Reservation System.
Ku Klux Act (Second Force Act).
Treaty of Washington with Great Britain
for settlement of *Alabama* claims by
arbitration.
Overthrow of Tweed Ring in New York.
- 1872 Amnesty Act.
Geneva Tribunal award for *Alabama*
claims.
United States gets rights in Pago Pago
harbor in Samoan Islands.
Liberal Republican Movement.
Credit Mobilier investigation (ends 1873).

ULYSSES S. GRANT, SECOND ADMINISTRATION, 1873-1877.

- Vice-president — Henry Wilson.
Election of 1872:
- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|-----------|
| Grant (Republican) | 286 | 3,597,132 |
| Greeley | 47 | 2,834,125 |
| (Liberal Republican and Democrat) | | |
- 1873 Salary Grab.
Omission of silver dollar from list of coins
("Crime of '73").
Panic of 1873.
Slaughter House Cases (Fourteenth
Amendment).

- Discovery of silver mines in Nevada.
Virginius affair with Spain..
- 1874 Height of Granger Movement.
 Railroad rate-war in East; start of pooling agreements.
 Democratic majority in Congressional elections. ("Tidal Wave of '74.")
 412.5 grains of silver worth less than 100 cents on the market.
- Whiskey Ring.
- 1875 Belknap investigation.
 Civil Rights Bill.
 Reciprocity Agreement with Hawaii.
- 1876 Resumption Act.
 Sioux Indian War (Custer, Sitting Bull).
 Bell Telephone.
 Admission of Colorado.
 Disputed presidential election.
- 1877 Electoral Commission reaches decision (March 2).

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, OHIO, 1877-1881.

Vice-president — William A. Wheeler.

		<i>Rep.</i>	<i>Dem.</i>
		<i>Count</i>	<i>Count</i>
Election of 1876:			
Hayes	185	4,033,768	4,036,298
(Republican)			
Tilden	184	4,285,992	4,300,590
(Democrat)			
Cooper		81,737	
(Greenback)			

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- 1877 Withdrawal of troops from the South
(End of Reconstruction).
Railroad and coal strikes.
Granger Cases (Munn versus Illinois).
- 1878 Bland-Allison Silver Act.
First appearance of "Solid South" in
Congressional elections.
- 1879 Resumption of specie payment for green-
backs.
Arrears of Pension Act.
Edison invents incandescent electric light.
- 1880 Start of surplus in Treasury; reappear-
ance of tariff issue.
Treaty with China.
- 1880-1884 Development of the electric railway.

JAMES A. GARFIELD, OHIO, MARCH 3-SEPTEMBER 19,
1881.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR, NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 19,
1881-1885.

Election of 1880:

	Garfield (Republican)	214	4,454,416
	Hancock (Democrat)	155	4,444,952
	Weaver (Greenback)		308,578
1881	Star Route Frauds exposed.		
	Resignations of Senators Conkling and Platt.		
	Assassination and death of President Garfield (July 2-September 19).		
1882	Edmunds Anti-Polygamy Act.		
	Chinese Exclusion Act.		
	Standard Oil Trust organized.		

- 1883 Pendleton Act (Civil Service Reform).
Tariff of 1883.
Civil Rights Cases.
- 1884 National Bureau of Labor established.
Mugwump Movement.

GROVER CLEVELAND, NEW YORK, FIRST ADMINIS-
TRATION, 1885-1889.

Vice-president — T. A. Hendricks.

Election of 1884:

Cleveland (Democrat)	219	4,874,986
Blaine (Republican)	182	4,851,981
Butler (Greenback)		175,370
St. John (Prohibition)		150,396

- 1886 Chicago strikes and Haymarket riot.
High-water mark of Knights of Labor.
American Federation of Labor estab-
lished.
Santa Clara County Case; Wabash Rail-
road versus Illinois (Fourteenth Amend-
ment).
- 1887 Interstate Commerce Act.
Dawes Indian Land-in-Severalty Act.
Cleveland's tariff message.
- 1887-1888 Mills tariff bill debate in Congress.
- 1888-1889 Samoan crisis; hurricane; establishment
of triple condominium.

BENJAMIN HARRISON, INDIANA, 1889-1893.

Vice-president — Levi P. Morton.

Election of 1888:

Harrison (Republican)	233	5,439,853
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	Cleveland (Democrat)	168	5,540,329
	Fisk (Prohibition)		249,506
1889	Admission of North and South Dakota, Montana and Washington to the Union Pan-American Conference. "Czar" Reed Speaker of the House.		
1890	Dependent Pension Bill. Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Sherman Silver Act. McKinley Tariff Act. Admission of Idaho and Wyoming to the Union.		
1891	Forest Reserve Act (Start of Conserva- tion Policy). Origin of People's or Populist Party. Cleveland's Reform Club letter against free silver. Mafia episode in New Orleans.		
1892	Homestead strike. Treaty with Great Britain submitting Bering Sea claims to arbitration (set- tled 1893). Valparaiso riot during civil war in Chili.		
1893	Revolution in Hawaii; provisional "Dole" government.		

GROVER CLEVELAND, SECOND ADMINISTRATION, 1893-1897.

Vice-president — Adlai E. Stevenson.

Election of 1892:

Cleveland (Democrat)	277	5,556,543
Harrison (Republican)	145	5,175,582
Weaver (Populist)	22	1,040,886

- 1893 Cleveland withdraws treaty for annexation of Hawaii from Senate.
Panic of 1893.
Repeal of Sherman Silver Purchase Act.
Chicago "World's Fair."
- 1894 First sale of bonds for gold (January).
Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act.
Coxey's "Army."
Pullman strike.
Second sale of bonds for gold (November).
Publication of Coin's "Financial School."
Organization of Silver Movement.
- 1895 Supreme Court declares Income Tax unconstitutional.
Third sale of bonds for gold. Morgan-Belmont agreement.
Cleveland's Venezuela message.
Insurrection starts in Cuba.
- 1896 Fourth sale of bonds for gold, by popular subscription.
Utah admitted to the Union.
Discovery of gold in Klondike region of Alaska.
Weyler's "Reconcentration Policy" in Cuba.
- 1897 Agreement to settle Venezuela-Great Britain dispute by arbitration (settled 1899).

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, OHIO, FIRST ADMINISTRATION,
1897-1901.

Vice-president — Garret A. Hobart.
Election of 1896:

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	McKinley	271	7,111,607
	(Republican)		
	Bryan	176	6,509,052
	(Democrat and Populist)		
	Palmer		134,645
	("Gold Democrat")		
	Levering (Prohibition)		131,312
1897	Dingley Tariff Act.		
1898	"Grandfather Clause" in Louisiana.		
	Spanish American War.		
	Publication of the De Lome letter (February 9).		
	Sinking of the <i>Maine</i> (February 15).		
	News that Spain consents to armistice in Cuba (April 10).		
	McKinley's message to Congress on Cuba (April 11).		
	Congressional resolutions demanding Spanish withdrawal from Cuba (April 19).		
	War declared on Spain (April 25).		
	Dewey's victory at Manila Bay (May 1).		
	Cervera's fleet in Santiago Harbor (May 19).		
	Battle of Las Guasimas (June 24).		
	Battles of El Caney and San Juan (July 1-2).		
	Navy victory at Santiago (July 3).		
	Annexation of Hawaii (July 7).		
	Surrender of Santiago (July 15).		
	Miles lands in Porto Rico (July 26).		
	Suspension of hostilities (August 12).		

- 1899 Capture of Manila (August 13).
Peace treaty signed (December 10).
First Hague Conference.
Start of Philippine Insurrection (Lasts till 1902).
- 1900 Gold Standard Currency Act.
Foraker Act; civil government in Porto Rico.
United States and Germany divide Samoan Islands.
Boxer Rebellion in China; United States participates in allied intervention; Open Door Policy.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, SECOND ADMINISTRATION,
MARCH 3-SEPTEMBER 14, 1901.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, N. Y., FIRST ADMINISTRATION, SEPTEMBER 14, 1901-1905.

Election of 1900:

McKinley (Republican)	292	7,219,525
Bryan (Democrat)	155	6,358,737
Woolley (Prohibition)		209,157
Debs (Socialist Democrat)		94,864
Malloney (Socialist Labor)		33,432

- 1901 Platt Amendment (Cuba).
Assassination and death of President McKinley (September 6-14).
United States Steel Corporation.

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- Northern Securities Company.
Hay-Pauncefote Treaty with Great Britain.
- 1902 Anthracite coal strike.
Newlands Reclamation Act (Conservation).
Withdrawal of United States troops from Cuba.
Decision on canal route through Panama.
Philippine Act; civil government.
Blockade of Venezuela; United States' threat to Germany.
- 1903 Establishment of Department of Commerce and Labor; Bureau of Corporations.
Elkins Railroad Act.
"Millionaires' Panic."
Settlement of Alaskan boundary dispute with Great Britain by arbitration.
Hay-Herran Treaty with Colombia.
Rejection of treaty by Colombian Senate (August 12).
Revolution in Panama (November 3).
United States recognized Republic of Panama (November 6).
Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty with Panama (November 18).
Wright Aeroplane.
- 1904 Dissolution of Northern Securities Company ordered by Supreme Court.
Completion of Pacific Cable.
San Domingo agreement (treaty signed 1907).

Failure of arbitration treaties with France, Germany, Great Britain due to Senate amendments.

1905 Treaty of Portsmouth (End of Russo-Japanese War).

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, SECOND ADMINISTRATION,
1905-1909.

Vice-president — Charles W. Fairbanks.

Election of 1904:

Roosevelt	336	7,628,785
(Republican)		

Parker	140	5,084,442
(Democrat)		

Debs		402,895
(Socialist)		

Swallow		258,950
(Prohibition)		

Corrigan		33,490
(Socialist Labor)		

1905 Appearance of Industrial Workers of the World ("I. W. W.").

Investigation of New York Life Insurance companies; Hughes.

1906 Hepburn Railroad Act.

Pure Food Law.

Reoccupation in Cuba (Ends 1909).

United States participates in Algeciras Conference.

Japanese excluded from San Francisco schools.

1907 Second Hague Conference.

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- Establishment of protectorate over Santo Domingo.
- Panic of 1907.
- Oklahoma admitted to the Union.
- Navy starts round the world (return in 1909).
- Gentleman's agreement with Japan.
- 1908 Conservation conference of governors.
- Aldrich-Vreeland Currency Act.
- Failure of arbitration treaties due to Senate amendments.

WILLIAM H. TAFT, OHIO, 1909-1913.

- Vice-president — James S. Sherman.
- Election of 1908:

Taft (Republican)	321	7,678,908
Bryan (Democrat)	162	6,409,104
Debs (Socialist)		420,793
Chafin (Prohibition)		253,840
- 1909 Payne-Aldrich Tariff.
- Ballinger-Pinchot controversy.
- Rise of Republican Insurgents.
- Taft's Winona Speech.
- 1910 Mann-Elkins Railroad Act.
- Commerce Court.
- The fight against Speaker Cannon.
- Campaign Fund Act.
- Economy and Efficiency Commission.
- Roosevelt's Ossawatomie speech ("New Nationalism").
- Dynamiting of *Times* Building, Los Angeles.

- 1911 Madero revolution ousts Diaz in Mexico.
Formation of National Republican Progressive League (La Follette).
Dissolution of Standard Oil and American Tobacco Trusts.
Canada rejects Reciprocity Treaty.
Veto of Underwood tariff bills.
Failure of comprehensive arbitration treaties with France and England due to Senate amendments.
- 1912 New Mexico and Arizona admitted to the Union.
Alaskan Organic Act.
Panama Tolls Act.
Lawrence strike.
Pujo Committee "Money Trust" investigation.
Roosevelt becomes a candidate for the Presidency.
Split at the Republican Convention (July).
Formation of Progressive Party (August 5).
Chinese revolution; Six Power Loan.
- 1913 Murder of Madero; Huerta assumes power in Mexico (February).
Sixteenth Amendment (income tax) proclaimed.

WOODROW WILSON, NEW JERSEY, FIRST ADMINISTRATION, 1913-1917.

Vice-president — Thomas R. Marshall.
Election of 1912:

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	Wilson	435	6,293,019
	(Democrat)		
	Roosevelt	88	4,119,507
	(Progressive)		
	Taft	8	3,484,965
	(Republican)		
	Debs		901,873
	(Socialist)		
	Chafin		207,928
	(Prohibition)		
	Reimer		29,259
	(Socialist Labor)		
1913	Colorado coal strike.		
	Underwood Tariff Act.		
	Federal Reserve Act (Glass-Owen Act).		
	Newlands Act.		
	California alien land Act.		
	Refusal to recognize Huerta.		
	Seventeenth Amendment (Direct Election of Senators).		
1914	Occupation of Vera Cruz (May–November).		
	Conference of “A B C” powers at Niagara Falls.		
	Treaty with Nicaragua.		
	Opening of Panama Canal.		
	Repeal of Panama Tolls Act.		
	Assassination of Archduke Ferdinand at Serajevo (June 28).		
	German invasion of Belgium (August 2).		
	United States’ Proclamation of Neutrality (August 4).		
	Federal Trade Commission Act.		

- Clayton Anti-Trust Act.
Smith Farm Loan Act.
- 1915 Germany proclaims submarine zone
(February 4).
Sinking of the *Lusitania* (May 7).
First *Lusitania* note (May 14).
Second *Lusitania* note (June 9).
Resignation of Secretary Bryan.
Third *Lusitania* note (July 21).
Sinking of *Arabic* (August 19).
German apology.
United States recognizes Carranza gov-
ernment.
Villa rebellion.
United States establishes protectorate in
Hayti.
Formation of League to Enforce Peace.
- 1916 Jones Philippine Act.
United States protectorate in Nicaragua.
Villa's Columbus raid (March 10).
Punitive Expedition to Mexico (March-
July).
National Guard to Mexican Border.
Sinking of *Sussex* (March 24).
Germany's *Sussex* pledge (May).
National Defense Act.
Council of National Defense.
Three Year Naval Building Program.
Adamson Law.
Purchase of Virgin Islands from Denmark.
German peace overture (December).
- 1917 German proclamation enlarging sub-
marine zone (January 31).

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Diplomatic relations with Germany suspended (February 3).

WOODROW WILSON, SECOND ADMINISTRATION, 1917-1921.

Vice-president — Thomas R. Marshall.

Election of 1916:

Wilson (Democrat)	277	9,129,269
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Hughes (Republican)	254	8,547,528
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Benson (Socialist)		590,579
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Hanly (Prohibition)		221,329
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1917 Declaration of War against Germany (April 6).

Selective Service Act (May).

First Division to France; organization of A. E. F. (June).

Food Administration Act (August 10).

Declaration of War against Austria (December 7).

United States takes over railroads (December 26).

1918 The "Fourteen Points" address (January 8).

German drive commences (March 21).

Overman Act (May 20).

Cantigny (May 28).

Start of Foch counter-offensive (July 18).

Organization of First American Army (August 10).

"Man-power Act." Increase in draft provisions (August 31).

Reduction of St. Mihiel Salient (September 12-16).

Start of Meuse-Argonne Offensive (September 26).

Republican majority in Congressional elections (November 3).

Armistice (November 11).

1919 Eighteenth Amendment (Prohibition) proclaimed.

Signing of Versailles Treaty (June 28).

Rejection of Treaty without amendments by Senate (November 19).

Boston police strike.

Steel strike

1920 Nineteenth Amendment (Woman suffrage) proclaimed.

Esch-Cummins Railroad Act.

Harding elected president.

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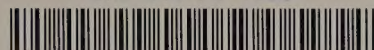
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